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AN ORATION OR SPEECH APPROPRIATED VNTO THE MOST MIGHTIE AND Illustrious Princes of Christendom.

WHEREIN

THE RIGHT AND LAVVFVLNESSE OF THE NETHERlandish Warre, against *Philip* King of *Spain* is approved and demonstrated.

COMPOSED

BY A NETHERLANDISH GENTLEman, and faithfully translated out of divers Languages into Dutch,

And now Englished by THOMAS WOOD.

According to the printed Copie at *Amsterdam*, by *Michael Collyne* Stationer, dwelling upon the Water at the corner of the old Bridge street, *Anno* 1608.

Printed Anno 1624.

PROVERB. 16. 12.

It is an abhomination to Kings to commit wickedneſſe: for the throne is eſtabliſhed by righteouſneſſe.

Ibid. CHAP. 20. 28.

Mercy and Truth preſerue the King, and his throne is upholden by mercy.

AN ORATION OR SPEECH OF THE RIGHT AND LAWFVLNES of the Netherlandiſh warre, againſt *Philip* King of *Spaine*: Vnto the moſt mightie and illuſtrious Princes of *Chriſtendome*.

Illuſtrious Princes of Chriſtendome,

GReat and Mighty are the Kingdoms in your poſſeſſion, which extend far and wide, throughout all the world: but much more great, and farre more excellent are the vertues and knowledge, by which you hold, preſerue and govern the ſame right ouſly, even to the vtteremoſt extent of felicity. Among which I eſteem theſe two more eſpeciall and remarkeable, which ſupport the huge weight of Kingdoms, as great *Atlas* the world, or the Gyants with their ſhoulders, *viz*. *Iuſtice* and *Benevolence*. The firſt being the excelling bright-ſhining mother of all lawes, and dominatrix over all publike Governments or Republicks, by which you judge your Citizens and Subjects, according to right and equity; unto which, both you and your ſubjects wils, power, counſell and deſire, moſt willingly doe yeeld, ſubmit, and are obedient unto; and which with the ſelfe ſame bands of Law, doth unite and annex together both you and your ſubjects alike. For this occaſion, the ancient Philoſophers in old time did feign,

that juſtice continually did attend and wait upon their god *Jupiter*, and that *Iupiter* did receiue his inſtructions and precepts from Iuſtice, to the end he might govern and rule all the kingdomes of the earth in good order, and that all his concluſions might be juſt and equall: Not that he did conclude and command after ſuch a manner (as that wicked flatterer *Anaxarchus* did, who would make King *Alexander* beleeeue, that he had done very well in killing *Clitus*, for whom *Alexander* made exceeding great lamentation:) but becauſe Iuſtice which attended on him had concluded and commanded the ſame. For the wiſeſt men in former times haue been of opinion, that for the enjoying of juſtice, there muſt be good and gentle Kings ſet over the people.

Now although this vertue and knowledge doth ſo extend and ſpread it ſelfe abroad, through the underſtanding, manners, and liues of all men; that without the ſame, there can be no worthy act performed; neither can men liue honeſtly without the ſame: Yet is ſhe of farre greater power (o Princes) in this your great and illuſtrious office: for ſhe requires, and will haue of you, that thoſe Lawes which haue been given and left unto poſterity, ſo many yeares agoe, by ſo many ſeverall men your Predeceſſors, which you ſee and finde to be fitting and agreeable, to the underſtanding, condition, and manners of your people: that you (I ſay) doe hold and maintain the ſame, ſacred, and unviolable: For if you aboliſh them, you aboliſh your Kingdomes, and precipitate them into a miſerable deſtruction. For one and the ſame Law is not fitting for all people, like as the ſword at *Delphos* was ſerviceable for many things: They neither will, nor can they all be ruled and governed with one and the ſame government. But your Predeceſſors, in their obſervation of the Lawes, which each of you enjoy, haue preſcribed unto you a lawfull, ſure, and permanent government, which is the foundation and prop of your higheſt and godlieſt dignity.

Although you be not ignorant, what the other which I named *Benevolence*, is powerfull, and addeth to a fit and permanent government, I mean that inclination, loue, will and affection, to doe good unto your ſubjects, and to provide for, and to augment them to the profit and commodity, as well of the generall, as of the particular; for whoſe commodity you acknowledge that all your

counſels and actions muſt be meaſured and ſquared unto.

This *Benevolence* maketh you your ſubjects fathers, and not their Lords; their Paſtors, and not their Butchers; their Kings, and not tyrants (nor cruel dominators). Out of this fountain doe you lead the currants of your other vertues, as mercy, lenity, familiarity, moderation, and liberality. Finally, this is the true deſire and luſt for the continuance of the common proſperity, for which cauſe Kingdoms are given and diſtributed unto you of the immortal God. Obſerving that ſubjects are not created and born for your ſakes, to ſerue you: but you are ordained for the ſubjects ſake, to the end that you ſhould take care and provide for them, to be profitable unto them, to ſhelter and defend them, with your countenance, vertues and providence.

Vpon theſe two vertues ſubſiſteth all the knowledge of government; the greatneſſe and power of all Princes, and the proſperity of all ſubjects: and that Prince which ſhall neglect and deſpiſe the ſame, poſſeſſeth a weak and impotent kingdom, and is indeed a very Tyrant, whoſe will and arrogancy is not to be obeyed.

Hereby you may eaſily underſtand, *O moſt mighty and illuſtrious Princes of Chriſtendome*, in what manner we muſt eſteem of *Phillip* king of *Spaine*.

And wheras the Lords, the States of the united *Netherlands*, doe oppoſe his violence and unjuſt government; I haue thought it good, to ſet down by way of diſcourſe, and to touch a little the right or lawfulneſſe of this warre, deſiring that you, as good and righteous mediators, laying aſide all ſecret hate, evill affection, and partiall partaking, will take notice and judge herof, with an upright, round, and pure conſcience, out of that which I, in a true and ſhort relation and hiſtorie (of thoſe things which haue been performed in the time of King *Phillip*, by his arrogancie, and licentious government) ſhall declare unto you.

When I intend to acquaint you herewith, the ſuperfluity of matter doth impoveriſh my counſell and skill, ſo that I cannot tell what ſpeciall order and courſe I muſt uſe and obſerue herein. I ſee that I muſt deale herein as Painters doe, who upon a little peece or tablet are to paint a great number of perſons: for like as they doe demonſtrate of ſome, but the face; of others, onely the top or

crown of the head, all the other parts of their bodies being ſhadowed. In like manner will it be needfull that I, of ſo many things which haue been done in the *Netherlands*, undertake the relation of ſome few, and obſerue the chiefe, eminent and principall poynts very roundly and briefly. From which you ſhall perceiue, that the beginning of our warre at the firſt, had great and juſt occaſion, and that in the courſe and progreſſion thereof, they are become greater and more juſt. But ô you *Illuſtrious Princes* at this preſent, be attentiue to heare ſo great and weightie a buſineſſe with wel-affected eares and minds, ſo many of you as there be, who for ſo many ages haue enjoyed your lawful and happy government, and ſeeke for the common good and proſperitie of your ſubjects. For I proteſt and ſweare unto you, with pretious and holy words upon the altar of truth, that I wil not adde any thing hereunto, but that which is grounded and proceedeth from reaſon it ſelfe; neither in my relation wil digreſſe or ſtray one fingers breath from the truth.

That great Emperour *Charles* before he had pacified and quieted thoſe great jarres and troubles of the Empire, and had augmented the ſame with almoſt innumerable countries and kingdomes; hee performed almoſt endleſſe and incredible journies and expeditions; nine in Germany, ſixe in Spaine, ſeuen in Italy, ten in the Netherlands, foure in peace and warre in France; Two expeditions he performed in Africa, at what time he meant to leaue off and to end the warres in high Germany, the ſucceſſe thereof ſeeming to be very uncertaine and doubtful: And being over-cloid with age and glory, leaving his government, departed into Spaine, and there in peace and quietneſſe, yea in the greateſt and happieſt tranquilitie to finiſh and end his bleſſed age. Then did this moſt victorious Emperour diſinherit and eſtrange himſelfe from all his kingdomes, countries and provinces: And by this meanes, all the labours and cares of all the affaires of his father by inheritance deſcended unto his ſonne *Philip*.

Vnto whom he often before (but more eſpecially when (as I haue ſayd) preparing himſelfe the laſt time to goe for Spaine, and to leaue his life and the Netherlands) did exhort: (like as all good Princes doe that haue an eſpeciall care for the will, vertue, care and affection of thoſe that ſucceed them in their government,) and that

very

very earneſtly in the preſence of the Prince of Orange, and the aged Boſſu, and other Nobles: He did admoniſh him (I ſay) that he aboue all other his kingdomes and countries, ſhould haue an eſpeciall care and regard unto thoſe Netherlandiſh Provinces; That hee ſhould carefully remember, that theſe people were not uſed to bee governed with any hard or tyrannicall kinde of government, And that they had an abhomination & a deteſtation of the ſeverity, pride, and arrogancie of the Spaniards; And that they were exceedingly inclined to their owne lawes and liberties: unto which if his ſonne *Philip* had not due regard, and thereunto endevoured himſelfe, that he with all benevolence, and (as equitie requireth) with a juſt and righteous upholding of his lawes, did not maintaine this people; that the time would come, that his government in the Netherlands would be weakned.

This good Father and Patriot, and yet the moſt mightie Emperour, was mindfull how often he had been faithfully aſſiſted and holpen both with counſell and deeds in all his ſo many croſſes and extremities, by his Netherlands: He knew well, when as he revolving all the former times in his remembrance, that the government of all the Kings and Princes of Spaine were ever very ſevere, proud, and cruell; not onely againſt their ſubjects, but even againſt all other nations, and that there was already planted and ſetled in the Spaniards an naturall and old inveterate hate of the Netherlanders, which oftentimes very manifeſtly had appeared: He had alſo in eſpeciall conſideration, that his ſonne *Philip* was borne and brought up in Spaine, and that he there with the milke of his Nourſes had ſuckt in thoſe great defects both of minde and manners, and that he conſenting thereunto, intended very adviſedly to proſecute the ſame; and that he in all his manners and behaviours was like an abſolute Spaniard; ſo that he could ſpeak nothing but Spaniſh, and onely would bee ſerved of none but Spaniards: And like as one peece of wood is bowed and made crooked by the art of man, and others grow even ſo: in like maner hath *Philip* both had and held from his birth and education, many defects which are not fitting for ſuch Princes.

For as ſoone as the Emperour had left the Netherlands, even ſo ſoone left *Philip* the wholeſome and provident counſels of his good

good father. And like as by the light of the Sunne, the light of a candle is obſcured: And like as one drop of brine is annihilated by the wideneſſe of the great and ſpacious ſea which devideth Aſia from Chriſtendome; even ſo were all thoſe moſt excellent admonitions of the Emperour, (which like the voyce of a dying Swanne, at his departing, he ſung unto his ſonne) ſwallowed up in the exceeding ſpacious and bottomles gulfe of the Spaniſh ambition and hate which they beare unto our Nation; which ſo totally poſſeſſed the mind of *Philip* and all Spaniards, that they would not permit, that the Netherlanders ſhould be obedient unto their lawfull and paternall lawes, but that they ſhould be obedient unto their arrogancie, as well as other nations of India, Italy, and Arragon. From whence you may underſtand (that which your ſelues, to your great loſſe and damage haue oftentimes proved to be true, ſince that time that *Philip* came to the government of his kingdomes) that his proud arrogancie and ambition is intollerable and incredible, that hee ſeeketh to purchaſe to himſelfe over all men, (through his extreame greedineſſe, and by meanes of all his treaſures and oppreſſion) an unlawfull power and meanes of government.

The warres in France which the Emperour by a truce had quieted, was by king *Philip* renewed: And whereas he for the maintenance thereof, had deſired a ſpecial taxation of the States of the Netherlands; the ſame was willingly, and with one conſent of all the States granted: although that they before (as is aforeſaid) had furniſhed the Emperour with many great ſummes of money in ſo many warres. For whereas according to the uſe and cuſtome of their predeceſſors, all the States were aſſembled, and the voyce of every State required (for ſuch matters might not be done without a general conſent, the conſent could not be without a preceding aſſembly of the States) where was concluded to bring up a great ſumme of money for *Philip* for the terme of nine yeares, the which was called *Subſidium novennale*, or a nine yeares Subſidie; which was very ſerviceable for that warre: But much more, the farre famous, and many yeares valour of the Netherlandiſh Champions, wherein they as wel alſo in many other warres, as in this, had effected ſo much, that *Phillip* in two proſperous battails, having overcome and driven out of the field, the moſt mightie King of France,

who

who afterward deſiring peace, did preſcribe unto him ſuch lawes and conditions, which tended to his ſingular honor and profit. And certainly all men, but eſpecially the conquered French, and ill-repining Spaniard, attributed the honor of this victory unto the valour and valiantneſſe of the Netherlanders.

And this one onely matter then was of ſuch importance, that if King *Philip* by ſo many benefites done to his father, and unto himſelfe, could not be induced to *Benevolence* (yet aboue all, that moſt excellent teſtimony of the Queen of Hungary, being added thereunto; who leaving the government of the Netherlands, did aſſure the King, that the fidelitie and valour of the Netherlanders, was more then ſufficiently known. To whom both the Emperour and the King were eſpecially beholden) yet notwithſtanding by this alike-minded and uniforme conſent, by this their fidelitie, by this their valour, and that of the chiefeſt of them, he ought to haue been kindled and inflamed to their loue, and to *Benevolence*.

But *Philip* rejected and caſt at his heeles all theſe teſtimonies, and deſpiſed the benefites and valiant deeds of the Netherlanders. What doe I ſay deſpiſed? He hath recompenſed them with moſt extreame hate, and moſt cruel and tyrannical deeds. For when the peace was concluded in France, it ſeemed hee tooke in very ill part, that the States a little before, in the concluſion of the 9 yeares ſubſidie, did not preſently, when he had but ſcarce opened his mouth; and as ſoon as it did but pleaſe him, did not preſently open unto him their whole treaſurie, and caſt downe before him at one inſtant, all their Treaſurie; that they were not preſently obedient unto his command; But that firſt, they, according to their cuſtome and law, having held as it were a Parliament or convocation of the States being gathered together, and having taken counſel thereupon, to the end that the buſineſſe might be granted by a general conſent; and that there might be ordained what manner of perſons ſhould chiefly be appointed, into whoſe hands that mony might be delivered, and how the ſame might be diſtributed moſt conveniently for the kings vſe. For theſe occaſions did he (who oppreſſeth our libertie, and abbrogating the lawes of our Fathers, ſeeking to himſelfe the government alone, which indeed is mere tyranny, or cruel government) adjudge the bringing up of that money not as a *Beneſite*, but

for *Crimen læſe maieſtatis*; And ever beating a jealous eye toward the States, as being enemies and refractory unto his government and dominion. For this was for *Philip*, and for all Spaniards, a ſufficient and lawful occaſion enough to beginne to declare themſelues enemie unto the Netherlanders; and violently to ſuppreſſe both their lawes, libertie and privileges.

This we know is the cuſtome of all tyrants, that ſeek and hunt after the very leaſt occaſions, masking the ſame with certain ſhewes of right, for the annihilating of the lawes of the ſubjects, and the pulling of them down under foot.

After ſuch a manner in former time did the ſonne of *Sixtus Tarquinus*, who having the chiefe government of the citie of the Gabians, by treachery and falſe accuſations, ſlew and baniſhed all the Councel, to the end that he by that meanes might bring the citie under the tyranny of his father. We alſo finde written of *Iulius Cæſar*, that he intruding himſelfe (againſt the lawes and priviledges) into a perpetual government; that all thoſe who oppoſed his doings, that he with ſome kind of ſhew or appearance of truth, or elſe by ſome concealed treacherie, made them away.

The Spaniards themſelues, haue even out of this haven of juſt complaints, and righteous accuſations, put out to ſea with full ſails, intending long agoe, their cruel, ſole, and chiefe government over the Netherlanders. And ſurely there wanted no inhabitants, who with their oares of moſt peſtilent counſell, did row this ſhip to the Spaniſh tyranny. For there was one or two of the Nobilitie unworthy their generation, and unworthy of their countrey; who being not able to make ſatisfaction for their dealings, and thought they could not ſtand faſt and permanent, unleſſe they overthrew the ſtate of the common government; Among whom that great uſurer *Barlemont* extold and ſet up himſelfe, and vomited out of his deadly mouth, all manner of wicked and poyſoned counſel into the boſome of the king: whereby the devotions of the Spaniards were provoked and ſtirred up to a greater violence, deceit, and to all evil proceedings. For the matter it ſelfe was come to that effect, that the king intended to haue executed the Earle of Lalaine, and all the States, being very wiſe and provident men, and certaine others who were Patriots of our Reipublick and State. Theſe men (I ſay) who

a little

a little before had heaped so many benefits upon the King, and had set their liues in the ballance, and hazarded their estate for his good and government. What cruelty was ever greater then this? what sin or offence of ingratitude was ever greater then this which hath been spoken of? But yet moreover and aboue, ô Princes, heare what licentiousnesse and selfe-wil *Philip*, before his intended journey into Spaine, had resolved by himselfe. Hee desired that they should take in Souldiers into all their chiefe cities, and out of their owne meanes to pay them monthly: And that all the Burgesses subjects should bring up their Armes. They denied not the command of their supreme Lord, but desired that those souldiers should be levied, might be of the inhabitants, and no Spaniards. The king persisted, that by all meanes they must be Spaniards, which should be raised, as upon whom he established the foundation of his cruel government. He commanded them that they should keepe good watch and ward in all the chiefe Castles and fortifications of the Provinces; who not restraining the hellish outrages of their enmitie and inveterate malice in the injuring and murthering of the Netherlanders; but presently gaue the reines thereto at Antwerpe, Atrecht, and Camerick all chiefe cities of the Netherlands.

Moreover, that which was altogether opposite to our lawes, and was very convenient for the effecting of his oppression, and for the establishing of his licentious government, *Philip* ordained and adjoyned certaine Spanish Counsellors to the States, having made choyce of such who naturally were prone and inclined for trecheries, deceits, tyranny, or cruel government, as were the Earls of *Feres*, *Verges*, and *Eras*, who in their bosomes should haue all the wil, government and counsel of king *Philip*, vnto whom he commanded that the States should giue place, and that they should not doe any thing whatsoever, but what these great *Catoes* did approue.

Now when as the chiefe sway of all the lands affaires was in their power, then must our people (the prudent wise-men and lo[vers] their countrey, and those that sought the welfare of the land[s] and downe like shadowes, and were but a cypher among th[em], and were held for statues of stone, who participated of th[e] vern-ments nothing but the bare name, and neither could nor might effect any thing that tended to the common good.

Then began our libertie and liues to be very uncertaine, and to be ſet to ſale, for this is the very truth, ô Princes, king *Philip* and the Spaniards whoſe ſeruice he moſt uſed for his laſciuious government, laboured all of them thereunto, like as in former times the ancient Romanes did with their *Decem-viri*, or ten men, who required of the Grecians the obſerving of the new law of the twelue Tables (as they called it:) That we euen ſo, rejecting and deſpiſing our libertie by theſe exceeding too-too cruel Three-men, ſhould deſire a new gouernment, and the moſt proudeſt lawes of the Spaniſh counſel, which ſhould proceed from thoſe counſellors, which I haue named: And as ye now perceiue, ô Princes, that they by the authority from their king *Philip*, wil giue the law, and gouerne all people of the earth; euen ſo would they load (with the ſame yoke of ſeruitude and bondage) the backes of all the Netherlanders, with the burthen of the moſt cruel gouernment. They intended wholy to ouerthrow and ouerwhelme our wel-ſetled Reipublick, to the end, that their owne pleaſures, licentiouſneſſe, and arrogancie might be uſed in ſtead of our lawes. This was that which they called *perfect and abſolute obedience*: but we may better call it *Tyrannie*: that is, a violent doing gouernment, which reſiſteth and oppoſeth our good lawes and cuſtomes; with the which many yeares agoe they haue ouerwhelmd and diſtreſſed them of *India, Sicilia, Calabria, Milaen, Arragon, and Portugall*. The Spaniard ſuffereth none of theſe countries to liue after the peculiar lawes of their owne Reipublick: but they haue ſent unto them out of Spaine (as out of Rome) Vice-royes, Gouernors, Legats, and Counſellors, who are all of them Spaniards.

Wherefore may they doe thus? Becauſe the worthineſſe and majeſty of the Spaniſh Monarchy (as they imagine) requireth the ſame.

That great and ponderous *Axioma* and diſcipline of the Stoicks, doth preſcribe unto them the ſame: for which they haue not gone to ſchoole to learne, nor haue ſtudied for; but of their owne nature and underſtanding facultie, they ſeeme to haue ſwallowed up, and now of late to haue renewed the ſame, viz. In regard they doe hold and report that all nations of the earth, to be in reſpect of them, but their ſeruants and bondſlaues, yea for dumbe, fooliſh, diſhonorable

nourable, miſerable, and for very beaſts: and contrarily doe eſteem themſelues for Kings, onely-wiſe, onely-rich, onely-happy, and onely-men. Among whom *Phillip*, as the onely *Chryſippus*, ſeemeth to under-prop and ſuſteyn the gallerie or walking place of theſe ſupercilious Philoſophers. And to proue this, they affirme, that it is lawfull for them, by the law of Armes to dominecr over ſtrange nations, conſidering that it is allowed for currant, by the Law of Nations, and Cuſtome; that Conquerours muſt giue the Law to the conquered, according to their own pleaſure.

If that we muſt (o Princes) like as indeed we muſt, allow of this, as being an ancient Cuſtome of all Nations; wherfore then doe the *Spaniards* attribute this lawfulneſſe unto themſelues here in the *Netherlands*, in regard the land deſcended to *Phillip* by inheritance, and not by force of Armes, nor violence, nor by any *Spaniſh* treacherie? But the Tyrant had farre rather that all things had been turned topſey-turvy, with warres and with fire, to bring all things to a deſolate deſtruction, and to mingle heaven and earth together, then to leaue the priviledges of the *Netherlanders*, which is deſcended unto them from their predeceſſors, which he hath well perceived by the home-bred inhabitants, to be more precious and deer unto them, then their own liues and bloud: And therfore hee thought that this was the courſe he muſt take: Firſt, to attempt the ſame (as enemie) by force of Armes, and after to deprive them of the Lawes of their fore-fathers; and he then being Conquerour, might giue new Tables or Lawes to the conquered: the which indeed Duke *d'Alua* himſelfe long agoe confeſſed, who having eſtabliſhed already a civill warre, and having by more then a Tyrannicall warre ſurprized many Cities, he then ſaid; and publiquely made his boaſt: that the King no longer had the Lawes or Rights of a Prince in the *Netherlands*, but of a conquerour; and therefore he put in execution his cruel tyranniſing, no otherwiſe, then as if long ſince he had effected the ſame, by giving the moſt licentious lawes, by making forfeited both the liues and goods of the chiefe and beſt abled of the Burgers, by ſelling their goods at a common out-cry, and by delivering their bodies over unto the hang-man. What? Did ever any tyrant or enemy attempt the like? Did ever *Gelo* or *Hiero* of *Sicilia* the like? Or did ever *Piſiſtratus*

the ſonne of *Hipocrates* the like? We reade of them, that although they by force of Armes, and againſt the Lawes, had purchaſed the Kingdom and Soveraigntie; that they nevertheleſſe governed moderately, and according to the lawes of the conquered Countrey, and by their government bettered and brought the Reipublique of *Sicilia* into greater proſperity. What ſhall I ſay alſo of *Lydiades* that Tyrant? Who in the end holding in abhomination his unjuſt, pampered, and voluptuous tyrannizing in the Citie of *Megalopolis*, reſtored to them their Lawes againe, and afterwards, fighting very valiantly with the common enemy for the maintenance of their proſperity, was ſlain in the battell.

When the *Romanes* at any time had taken a Province by force of Armes; they commanded and governed the ſame with abſolute moderation, ſtatelineſſe, providence and equity: But thou ô *Phillip*, doſt not with-hold thy ſelfe from unjuſt dealing, from violence, from our deaths, nor from the ſubverſion of our Lawes and Priviledges: wheras we being deſcended unto thee, neither by warre, nor by tyrannie; but by a lawfull inheritance, and by right of marriage. And therfore if thou wilt play the part of a Tyrant, ô *Phillip*, doe that in *Italy*, which many yeares ſince by right of warre is brought into thy obedience. Wilt thou be eſteemed for a King? Then be a King in *Spain*, or rather in *Ieruſalem*. But wilt thou be a Monarch (to which end thy Spaniſh Scoth-ſayers long agoe haue made unto thee many a goodly propheſie?) Be it where thou maiſt mingle thy fire and ſword together. Wilt thou be a great Dominator, or violent Governour, Be it in *Aſia*, be it in *Africa*. For, ſo much as concerneth us, we doe not acknowledge that proud name of thy Soveraignty; neither doe we entertain thy moſt unjuſt lawes into our free government. We haue no fellowſhip at all with Tyrants: but we are even to the uttermoſt extent, ſeperated, and eſtranged from them. We haue a Duke and Prince, and ſuch a one lawfully, limited by the moſt juſt limits of the Lawes. Thou haſt ſworn that thou waſt ſucha one, and for ever wouldſt be, when thou with exceeding joy, and hope of every man didſt make thy joyfull entrance into our Cities: when thou camſt into our Towns to the great rejoycing and hope of every man; when every man did entertain and imbrace thee with the higheſt honour and officiouſneſſe,

neſſe. Then didſt thou, according to the cuſtome, even before all all the people, binde thy ſelfe with an holy oath upon the moſt bleſſed Evangeliſts, that thou wouldſt hold the Lawes of our Predeceſſours for good, and that thou wouldſt not alter nor change any one of thoſe Lawes.

Yet to the end, that not without occaſion I ſeem ſo often to make mention thereof, and to nominate our liberty ſo often, I will tell you what our liberty is, and what it requireth. For *I beleeue moſt Illuſtrious and mighty Princes*, that *Phillip* hath put the remembrance of them long agoe out of his mind, and that he thinketh that it is the character of the whore *Tanegrea* (which *Claudius* called the liberty of the wicked Roman Citizens,) and that he and his *Spaniards*, haue not onely the image of licentiouſneſſe and admittance, but that they altogether doe honour and worſhip the ſame, as the Goddeſſe and *Venus* of their Avariciouſneſſe. Yet becauſe I am perſwaded, that our liberty conſiſteth in the Rights, Lawes, Cuſtomes and Manners of our Predeceſſors, I will repeat the ſame, if it pleaſe you, and will bring ſome of them into your remembrance, to the end that yee, ô Princes, may underſtand what manner of Lawes they be, for which we (as for our welfare) doe fight, without fearing any kinde of death.

The Oath of the Netherlandiſh Princes.

I

THat they may not make any proceſſe againſt any man, neither contrary to the Lawes of the Cities, nor of the publick Courts, but muſt giue leaue to every man to defend himſelfe by an Atturney.

II

They ſhall ſuffer no ſtranger nor forreyner to adminiſter in any publique office.

III

They ſhall place no man in the chiefe and higheſt dignity and authority over the Prouinces, which are not of their blond and kinred.

IIII

They may not alter the State of the Reipublick, by giving out their Letters Patents

Patents or Placcates, vpon their own authority, neither may they bring any novelties therin.

V

Neither may they demand any Taxation, Without the publique conſent and grant of the States; they muſt haue their ordinarie Revenues, and muſt be content therwith.

VI

They may not Without conſent of the States of the Provinces, bring any Souldiers into the Provinces and Cities therof.

VII

They may never advance, nor cry-down the valew of mony, Without the permiſſion of the States.

VIII

A diſobedient and culpable Burger, they may not conſtrain him, neither by Amercements, Bands nor Blowes, before the Magiſtrate ſhall haue made enquiry concerning him, and alſo given judgment therof.

IX

A malefactor, Whatſoever treſpaſſe he ſhall haue committed, that is condemned by the Iudge, they may not take him out of the Provinces to bring him to any other place of execution.

X

The proſperity of the people ſhall be their chiefeſt Law.

XI

If any Prince at his departure hath diſturbed the ſtate of the Reipublique, either by violence, Wrong-dealing, or treacherie, then all the States and Burgers may deny him obedience, and ſhall be free and diſcharged of their oaths: they ſhall appoint a chiefe in his place, untill he be reduced unto a better minde, and more eaſie government.

Theſe are the chiefe Lawes (although there be yet others much like unto theſe) by which even to this preſent, the liberty of the *Netherlands*, very long, and very exceeding well, and moſt flouriſhingly haue been maintained.

Behold and conſider now ô Princes, I pray you, what I haue ſaid and ſhall ſay of that violent, and moſt wrongfull Government of *Phillip*, how directly he hath oppoſed our liberty; yea, and Iuſtice it ſelfe.

It is not very needfull that I by many demonſtrations proue that which already I haue proued; that *Phillip* hath violated the Lawes of the *Netherlands*, and that by meer force he ſeeketh to overwhelm and to turn the whole *Netherlands* topſie-turvie: conſidering that every man may ſee and read out of the intercepted letters of *Alua*, the Embaſſadour of *Phillip*; That this is known for ſure and certain; who in his letters written out of France unto the Princeſſe of *Parma*, then Governeſſe of the *Netherlands*, affirmeth: That it was certainly concluded by his King, to abrogate and quite aboliſh all the Priviledges of the *Netherlanders*; and that he would preſcribe ſuch a Law unto them, that no other Law ſhould be of any force, then that which ſhould be given them by his command, and with his counſel. And therfore he called for the Popes Authority to aſſiſt him; who acquitting and diſcharging him of his faith-keeping, of his ſworn promiſes, and of his ſo high and ſacred an oath, which he had ſworn to maintain the Netherlandiſh Lawes, to the end he might afterwards (with the wind of this vain diſpenſation) with ful ſet ſailes, bravely ruſh himſelfe into the ſea of the Spaniſh tyrannie; and that under pretext of the Romiſh Religion and Holineſſe, ſuch like cruelties and tyrannie which he uſeth to al good Princes and Nations of the earth, might under the ſame be ſheltred and defended.

O injuſtice not to be concealed, ô too too unprovident and unworthy Prince to govern: For what could he haue done more raſhly, or more unprovident in his government, then to get himſelfe freed from the oath which he had ſworn to his ſubjects? So ignorant in the land affaires was *Phillip*, that he underſtood not what a faſt and firm obligation, and band of the conſcience, wils, and all other affaires, is effected betwixt him and his ſubjects, by that mutuall and reciprocal fidelity, and the reſpect to oathes: That he underſtood not of what force the bonds of the Law and fidelity is, which annex and binde together the offices of all Princes, of Counſellours and of Subjects, of Lords and Vaſſals: For, for the very ſelfe-ſame occaſion that the Farmer or Tenant looſeth the right of his Farme; the owner alſo by the ſame right is deprived of the proprietie of the ſame: The Tenant or Farmer is not bound to keep faith and promiſe with the owner, nor to be obedient unto him;

if he deny to keep faith and promiſe with him, and to keep the rights of the Farm from him alſo.

Domitius the Oratour in times paſt ſaid, wherfore ſhould I acknowledg you for a Prince, ſince you doe not acknowledge mee for a Counſellour; To which end *Lucius Craſſus* ſaid very well: Shall I acknowledge you for a Burgermaſter, when you doe not acknowledge me for a Counſellour? Wherfore then ſhould not wee with one uniform voyce, ſay we acknowledge *Phillip* for no King who doth not acknowledge us for his Burgers? but holds us for particular and common enemies.

Therfore this perfiduouſneſſe was hurtfull for *Phillip* when hee endevoured to diſcharge the States of the promiſe and Oath which they had made to him: So that they no more now need to eſteem, nor be obedient unto him, as their Lord or Prince, but may by all right reject and defie him as a Tyrant, and as a common enemy to the Countrey. For as ſome men by ſicknes, or by defect of the ſenſes, doe not taſte the daintineſſe of the meat; even ſo now, ſuch a miſchievous luſt and deſire to effect all things whatſoever his heart imagineth, hath captivated *Phillip*,& other Tyrants, that they can neither ſee nor perceiue what is profitable or hurtfull for themſelues, in this their miſchievous deſire of unjuſt Soveraignty; but are by the cruelty of their natures tranſported and driven to all kinde of miſchiefes and crimes worthy of puniſhment.

But with what conſcience, with what will, with what affection, ô *Phillip*, haſt thou got ſuch an abominable deteſtation of our Lawes, and doſt ſo farre digreſſe from them, that for them thou ſhouldſt ſo ſhamefully violate, break and make ſhipwrack of thy faith and truth, which all good Princes are accuſtomed to keep holy and unviolable, even as the ground-work and foundation of all juſtice? Were they unjuſt? Were they not conform to equity? Or did they any wiſe injurie thy dignity and Spaniſh Majeſtie? The Emperours, Kings and Princes thy Predeceſſours (who undoubtedly are to be preferred and accounted before thee in the worthineſſe of their government in luſtre, glory and excellencie) they haue made and preſcribed them themſelues, and in ſuch manner ſo preſcribed them, that they were fitting, juſt, and beſeeming for a good Prince; by which the common welfare of the Netherlands might be ſupported and

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, & the proſperity & perpetuity of our Reipublick, might remain ſetled and grounded in good order: For the making of them, hath that great & mighty Emperor thy father, & all thy Predeceſſors more applyed all their endevours, diligence, care, ability and vigilancie, then thou ô *Phillip*, haſt done for the overthrowing of them, and for the deſtruction of the whole Reipublick with thy tyrannic and violent oppreſſion. For thoſe good Princes underſtood very well (that which thou and all other Tyrants are uſed to deny and reſiſt) that the onely office of good Princes is, to be alwaies mindfull, not onely of what is committed to their charge, but alſo in what manner the ſame is committed to their charge: They were alwaies mindfull that they repreſented the body of the Commonwealth, and that they ought to maintain the dignity and the proſperitie of the ſame; to maintain the Lawes in their vigour, and to defend their Rights and Cuſtomes; and to have in minde that ſuperexcellent and moſt royal ſpeech of King *Theohadades*, *When all things are in our power, then We ſimply beleeve that all commendable things are lawfull.* Therfore *Antigonus*, the third King of the *Macedonians* wrote unto his Cities, that if peradventure he had commanded or publiſhed any thing by letter or decree, that ſeemed to oppoſe their Lawes, that therin they ſhould not be obedient; but ſhould perſwade themſelves, that he either by ignorance, or by errour, was miſtaken. Surely, this was a great and moſt excellent King, this King by chance, hearing one ſay, *That all things without any difference were lawfull and beſeeming Kings*, He therunto, both as well honourably, as providently, made reply: *Yes, for the Barbarian Kings, but unto us, lawfull things are onely lawfull, and juſt things are onely juſt.*

In like manner *Themiſtocles*, being required of *Symonides*, that for his advantage in the Court he would pronounce an unjuſt ſentence, who anſwered: *As thou couldſt not be a good Poet, if thou ſhouldſt tranſgreſſe meaſure in Poetry: So ſhould not I be a good Prince, if I ſhould conclude any thing contrary to the Lawes.*

Doſt not thou now ſee thy ſelfe, ô *Phillip*, in ſuch like Actions, and in all the things which thou haſt done, convinced of the Heathens and worldly Kings: wheras thou wilt be eſteemed for a King; yea, and the Catholike King? Doſt not thou ſee plainly that

thou art convinced by their Teſtimonie, who were onely lead by nature to maintain Iuſtice and Equitie? Doſt not thou ſee evidently by the teſtimony of every one, that thou art enforced to acknowledge that thou haſt endevoured and ſtil endevoureſt thy ſelfe to Tyrannie? And to the end that I may now paſſe unto other matters, yet I muſt not forget this proofe of his Tyrannie: that *Phillip*, from the time that he firſt took upon him the government of the Netherlands, would haue had, that the Convocation and the Aſſembly of the States ſhould haue been holden in ſtrange Countries; and that he many times, forbad, diſperſed and hindred the meetings of the Lords of the Councel; when they according to their manner and cuſtome in their Aſſemblies of State, did treat and deal in the behalfe of the common good of the Lands. For this Councel of the States was ordained, as a Protector of the Lawes, a Preſerver, a Surveyer, and Defender of the Reipublick, and of all common affaires; and was the haven and refuge of the oppreſſed.

He to whom the charge was committed to ſee that the Reipublick ſhould not be endamaged; even him hath *Phillip* not permitted to come into the Aſſembly of the States. He concluded that he muſt haue another Councel; that he with that Councel could not effect his own counſel and tyrannie. For he had learned that of *Tarquinius Superbus*, who in the Roman government (which was left unto him of his Predeceſſors) uſed to diſpoſe and order all things with counſel and adviſe, he took that clean away; and adminiſtred and ſerved the Comonaltie with the counſel of his own opinion: And after him *Iulius Cæſar*, who oppreſſed the Reipublicks, made himſelfe perpetual Dictator or Preſident, and prohibited the Aſſemblies. The which Reipublicks afterward by *Auguſtus* being pacified and quieted were reduced into their former integrity. Which Aſſemblies *Nero*, that infamous Tyrant, in the beginning of his raign, did again prohibit. For *Phillip* not onely hated, troubled and ſeparated, the Aſſemblies and Convocations of the States, but alſo of the Nobles and Burgeſſes, their Colleges, Aſſemblies, and Convocations; wheras contrarily he ought to haue been a good Father, and a faithful Adminiſtrator of all good Lawes and Cuſtomes; but more eſpecially and aboue all, of the ſtately office of the States.

And

And therefore, ô Princes, if I ſhould proceed to make relation of all the injuries which haue been committed by *Philip* in the Netherlands, you might manifeſtly ſee and perceiue, that hee intended a moſt unjuſt and intolerable government, and that he is driven and preſſed to ſuch an intent, by his ambitious deſire and extreame hate towards the Netherlanders. I know wel that I ſpeake of things which are ſufficiently knowne to the world, and reported of by all men, And that thoſe things which I declare, are better known to every one, then I am able to conceiue in my minde, or to expreſſe with my pen. Yet I wil giue you to underſtand ſome particulars, although my delivery and abilitie is not any wiſe able to ſatiſfie your capacitie and knowledge therein. For I cannot remember that there hath ever been in this world a more wicked and vile act heard of then this which *Philip* did, when he not onely intended the ſeparation and diſperſion of the nobleſt of the States: but alſo to kil and to haue murthered them: And even at that very time (as I haue ſaid already) when they had brought up unto him the nine yeares ſubſidie, not onely with an eſpecial and ſingular good wil, but with a farr greater officiouſneſſe. As alſo when he firſt in a ſecret counſel had concluded utterly to haue extirpated and eradicated all the Netherlanders, which by him and his unjuſt inquiſitors were ſuſpected to be altered in religion.

Now to the end I paſſe not by that in ſilence; Before *Philip* had accuſed the States of rebellion, contumacie, and *Crimen laſe Maieſtatis*, Duke d'*Alva* made declaration unto *Henrie* the ſecond, King of France, that *Philips* intent was not onely to put to execution the Nobles and Gentlemen, but alſo all thoſe ſubjects which were ſuſpected to bee of the reformed and pure religion. *Philip* would haue murthered ſo many thouſand people, and would haue butchered them like innocent lambes, which never had given him ſo much as an ill word; yea who alwayes with an eſpecial Benevolence and officiouſneſſe, had moſt willingly been obedient to his command, over whom hee (after the Emperours departure) had ſcarcely ruled and governed one yeare. So that if in caſe he from that time to this preſent (and according to that cruel and tyrannical beginning) might haue runne out the courſe of his tyranny, we had been choked and buried long agoe in our own blood.

Which of you, ô Princes, is there that maketh any doubt of the truth hereof, in regard that the King of France whom I even now named, did not ſpare to adverti ſe the Prince of Orange (when hee with other Princes was concluding the peace of *Paſſowe*, in the behalfe of King *Philip*) that ſuch an exceeding evil act was intended by the wicked counſels of King *Philip*? But I pray you, ô Princes, doe not think that *Philip* undertook this for religion. This was his religion, that he thought it a ſin to let any man liue, who did not hold and eſteeme for good; yea, and to eat up as ſuger, all his counſels and intents. This did his religion permit, and therefore hee made no conſcience nor ſinne, to haue murthered ſo many thouſand innocent Burgers, to the end that at once all the Nobilitie and chiefe of the Netherlands might haue been made away.

He accounted that for no ſin at all, in the warres of the *Moriſcoes* to apprehend an hundred marchants of *Granado*, and in one night in a tumult to cut all their throats and to murther them. Not that they were any way ſuſpected for their religion (for they had been alwayes of the Romiſh Catholick beliefe) but for their money and great riches: For he that was of the leaſt abilitie among them, was worth fiftie thouſand Ducates, which treaſure *Philip* preſently appoynted to be brought into his treaſurie and Exchequer.

And this is briefly what *Philip* himſelfe hath done, as being the head and chiefe Architecture of our miſeries. Let us now deſcend unto the times which followed, after that hee had left the Netherlands, and was gone into Spaine. O theſe were heavy (and by reaſon of the abundance of calamities) moſt deadly times. Times? The remembrance thereof bringeth a deadly feare, horror, and an extreame deteſtable abhorring, unto the ſoules and bodies of all good Patriots and lovers of their countrey. O is not this a miſerable caſe, that the Spaniards, Moriſcoes, and Semi-moriſcoes, ſhould haue had ſo much right, or fame rather ſo much violence, over us? who notwithſtanding were ready and prepared not onely to haue left and loſt our goods, but even our welfare, wiues, children, and our liues, in the ſervice of the moſt high God and the King. That we, I ſay, ſo ſuddenly were proclaimed for rebels, and repugnant godleſſe heretickes: And after ſo many provocations, inſtigations and injuries, being dejected and throwne down to the ground, not by one champion

pion, nor by one blow, but by many and grievous wounds, could ſcarcely begge and preſerue our liues and ſoules of our peſtilent enemie.

Let us now a little obſerve theſe champions one after another, according as the enſuing times ſhall declare and manifeſt the ſame, which *Philip* ſent out of Spaine to be ſupreame Lords of the Netherlands; not that they ſhould be as wholſome and medicinable reſtoratiues to our wounds: but that they as biting corriſiues (ſent from the ſhop and ſtore-houſe of all deceit and wickedneſſe) might bite open, and make them greater and more dangerous.

Now if that be true which politicians affirme, that a man may know and diſcerne the nature and affection of the Prince, by the condition and manners of his friends, and of thoſe which he uſeth for counſel and ſeruice; Then let us conſider and ſee of what qualitie and condition the King of Spaine is, by thoſe governors and rulers which haue been ſent from him into the Netherlands. For when *Philip* had layd the faſt foundation and ground-work of his cruel and tyrannical government, hee concluded to returne againe into Spaine, to the end that the Netherlanders might indure and ſuffer all kind of miſery at the hands of ſuch as were their fellow-ſeruants; And that the King as being himſelfe abſent, might pretend and hold himſelfe as ignorant thereof.

And firſt *Margaret* the Princeſſe of *Parma*, had the government of theſe lands. She was a craftie queane, and exceeding deſirous to further the Spaniſh tyranny, who by her manifold and continual complaints and accuſations, aggravated the kings hatred more and more: The king had joyned in commiſſion with her the Cardinal *Gran-velle* (a man farre exceeding and ſurpaſſing her in perverſneſſe, deceit, contention, in underſtanding and courage) to be her coadjutor and companion in this paſſage of Spaniſh tyranny.

Theſe two were the Princes and Architectures of ſo many commotions. All the civil warres were hatcht, effected and begun by theſe two. And like as *Helena* was unto the *Troianes*, even ſo were theſe two to our Reipublick, the occaſion of warre, the occaſion of plagues and ſpoyle.

For that which before was very hard for *Philip* to effect by vehement force and violence, that effected theſe two, by deceit, by trappings

p ngs and underminings. For when they at the firſt did perceiue that they could not effect their intent, but under a ſhadow and colour of religion to doe all th ngs contrary to our lawes and priuileges. Then they erected new Bi ops by a new trick which was unuſual in the Netherlands. And theſe were ſet as ſpies in the great and principal cities, both in all general and particular affaires. They eſpied and reuealed what every man intended and practiſed. Thoſe that were but ſuſpected of neglecting the Romiſh religion, they preſently haled and caſt them into priſons or dungeons, and thence to moſt cruel puniſhments; and finally, brought them to death, confiſcat ng their lands and goods to the Exchequer. And this was the ch efe occaſion, that the greateſt part of all thoſe that imployed all their endeuours and diligence to ſtand for the common good, and ſeemed to preferre, as alſo to place and exalt the publick libertie and juſt lawes before the vile and contemptible enterpriſes of the Spaniards; theſe men were made away.

This was that holy intent of *Philip* and his Spaniards; This was that holy Inquiſition, which ſo called and nominated their moſt vile deeds, and cruel robberies, which never before had been heard of, nor uſed in the Netherlands, which directly as water doth contend and ſtriue with the condition and nature of fire, did that oppugne our lawes: becauſe that no man by ſuch meanes might be inforced thereunto, neither by violence nor death; yet by theſe bloudy judgments of the Spaniſh tyranny, even the principal and chiefe defenders of our native countrey (by falſe accuſat ons) even w th their wiues and children, were brought to publick puniſhments of fire and ſword.

The like uſed *Tarquinus Superbus* that tyrant (whereof wee ſpake before) moſt vehemently to doe in ſuch like affaires, whoſe cuſtoms, manners, and deeds, *Philip* not onely ſeemeth carefully to aime at; but euen by imitation to doe the like. For that Roman tyrant, to the end he might make himſelfe feared and reſpected of all men, took onely notice of the matters of life & death, without any counſel. And under that pretext, he killed, burnt and executed the bodies, and confiſcated all the goods of thoſe whom he either hated, or had in any ſuſpition; or elſe from whom he exſpected any good booty. And this very ſame did *Philip* ſeek to doe, and all the other

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his counſellors of miſchiefe in the Netherlands; becauſe they perſwaded themſelues that there was nothing more availeable nor fitter to cover their wicked deſignes, and to diſcover our intendments and actions (as well in the general as particular affaires) as was this new care of maintaining and manumiſing of their religion, which they ſeemed to entertain with exceeding great care and diligence.

For there is nothing worſe nor more dangerous, there is nothing which uſually bringeth unto men more inconveniences and domages, then that which is pretended and effected under the ſhew and pretext of ſome great commoditie and profit. But before I wil proceed to demonſtrate how exceeding farre the inſtitutions and the lawes of the Inquiſition, oppoſed our lawes; How exceedingly they weakned our privileges, and the good eſtate and welfare of our countrey; I wil freely confeſſe that the Emperour before that time, being moved by the counſel of many, would haue brought that moſt cruel Spaniſh Inquiſition into the Netherlands, and would haue inſtituted certaine new rigorous lawes concerning the matter of religion: but when he perceived that thoſe things could not be accompliſhed without the greateſt alteration of our Reipublick and government; And that hee underſtood that all the currant of our lawes were againſt the ſame, and made flat oppoſition: then that good father and preſerver of our countrey, deſiſted from his intended purpoſe; and by the good and wholeſome advice of the States (who had oftentimes demonſtrated unto him wherefore thoſe things could not be eſtabliſhed without the great domage and ſubverſion of our lawes and privileges) he left the ſame undone.

So that every one may clearly ſee and perceiue, that the diligence that this good Prince uſed therein, and that great care he took therfore, that the ſame ſhould farre rather be for our preſervation, and furthering to the common good, then to the hurt of the ſame.

But the Emperour being dead, *Philip* againe erected and eſtabliſhed that firſt intention and counſel of the Inquiſition, as a faſt foundation and ſure fortification of his deceits, and treacherous trappings, which ſo long before had been caſt off and rejected by the Emperour. So that it ſeemed, that he by a violent and ſtrong attempt, would quite ſubvert the ſtate of our Reipnblick, with his moſt peſtilent lawes. For he having deſpiſed the advice, counſels,

reaſons and the petitions of our States and of our lawes, he willed and commanded that it ſhould be ſo. That new Biſhops ſhould be inſtituted and ordained over the great cities. Theſe having diminiſhed the revenues of many Abbots, as alſo the Lawes and priviledges of the principal of the Clergie, but more eſpecially having weakned and depoſed the Biſhop of Camerick, and the Biſhop of Leige, they lived more ſumptuoſly and gorgeouſly then they. He ordained that there ſhould be nine Canons adjoyned unto them, that ſhould be of the ſame ſtuffe, and of the ſame condition and nature as the others were. Out of theſe nine eſpecially ſhould there be three ſought out, of the moſt ſevere and cruelleſt of them all; who daily with great earneſtneſſe ſhould look into the affaires of the Inquiſition. And that which was farre worſe, and more intolerable for our libertie, theſe Biſhops ſhould not onely be members in the Aſſembly of the States; but even there ſhould haue the moſt voyces.

By this meanes theſe confuſers and diſturbers of the Netherlandiſh peace and tranquilitie, did eaſily oppoſe the beſt and profitableſt lawes and counſels of the States, and did weaken and debilitate the ſame even as it pleaſed King *Philip*. They were able and ready to informe the Spaniards (who were enemies to our countrey) all what the States intended. For the meaning and intention of *Philip* when he ordained them, and admitted them into the Aſſembly of the States; was, that they ſhould not conſent to their wholeſome and good counſels; neither if that they could adviſe or counſel any thing of themſelues to the welfare of the common good; thatthey ſhould doe it; But that he by them, might confuſe, deſtroy, and breake the unitie of our States, and their uniformitie of voyces in counſelling; And to bring ſuch a kind of counſelling in treyne, which might be moſt ſerviceable for his tyranny.

Hence you may ſufficiently underſtand, *O moſt peaceful and illuſtrious Princes*, the reaſons that the States had, and were inforced to deny and deteſt that new intent and meaning of *Philip*, and how the ſame oppoſed our lawes. Yea and were it for no other, but for this onely cauſe, yet it muſt needs diſtate and utterly diſlike them; That ſtrange Spaniards and Italians might be choſen for ſuch Biſhops.

We ſaw and heard daily in our Aſſemblies and counſel of State

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the filth and dregges of theſe ſtrange fellowes, who were exceeding farre eſtranged from the nature of the Netherlanders: whereas our lawes had concluded and commanded (as we haue ſayd before) that at no time ever in the Netherlands it ſhould happen, that it was lawful for the Prince to admit any ſtranger into the Aſſembly of the lands affaires or counſels. By this ſubtiltie and deceit *Philip* ſought to bring in other lawes, which might annihilate our lawes, and ſet up his in their place. and to haue a new councel in the aſſembly of the States: for he could not make uſe of the counſell of the States for the furthering of his tyranny. Moreover I doe not intend to paſſe by the incredible crueltie and ſeveritie of this new inſtitution of theſe three inquiſitors, or under-queſtors, which daily they practiſed.

We ſaw daily theſe three helliſh Iudges keep cruel courts of Iuſtice by themſelues, which was differing from the courts of the Cities, and of the Provinces. They deſpiſing the common authoritie of the Magiſtrates, proſecuted after a new manner of law againſt the offenders, as they termed them; and therein did accuſe and condemne, without admitting any, yea the leaſt meanes for them to anſwer for themſelues, without ſuffering any appeale or challenge to the higher powers, but uſed their owne authoritie and their owne advice, and ſo proceeded as it pleaſed their owne liking and fantaſie, and uſed (to pleaſe their owne appetite) ſuch un-heard-of and unaccuſtomed puniſhments, upon the bodies and liues of ſuch perſons, whereof they did but dreame that they had violated or vilified the Romiſh religion: or elſe they themſelues by their moſt villanous deceits, and trecherous trickes, had induced and ſet on others to doe ſomething, by which meanes they might be ſuſpected to haue beeu altered in their religion. For they had a cuſtome to ſet out daily certaine ſtationers with bookes and writings which did oppoſe the Romiſh Religion, and ſent theſe fellowes to the Nobles and chiefe of the Prouinces, to the end, that if they did but buy any of the ſame, that then preſently, as being offenders, for hereſie, and of a falſe religion, they might accuſe them and condemne them. Like as it is reported of that cruel and blood-thirſty beaſt *Hyana*, who for to entice the people, or ſuch as kept the cattle, to come out of the woods or ſheltring places to them, made great mourning and la-

mentation, to the end ſhe might devoure them.

Is not this, moſt illuſtrious Princes, to abuſe religion, godlineſſe and piety to tyranny? Is not this to alter and change the State of the Reipublick, and to bring in any novelties which might oppoſe the lawes or the authoritie of the States in them, according to the wil and pleaſure of *Philip*? Is not this to puniſh a culpable Citizen with amercements, bands, or blowes, contrary to the lawes of the land, and contrary to the authority and reſpect of the magiſtrate? Finally, is not this to proſecute the offenders by a courſe of juſtice contrary to the lawes and cuſtomes of the cities, or of the publicke courts, and to deny a man the libertie to make his owne defence.

If then we muſt conſent unto *Philip*, and to the Pope (which I utterly deny) that for the altering of religion in the Netherlands, ſuch crueltie and bitterneſſe muſt be uſed. Yet we ſay (that which many with us wil teſtifie) that many Netherlanders were moſt cruelly butchered, which knew no other religion, nor made confeſſion of no other religion but the Romiſh religion, and theſe that knew not wherfore they were condemned to death: in regard alſo they never had treſpaſſed againſt the lawes of the Inquiſition.

And conſidering, ô Princes, that all the complaints and accuſations which *Philip* maketh againſt us, doe for the moſt part, conſiſt chiefly herein, that he acknowledgeth and confeſſeth to haue uſed, not onely this bringing in of the Inquiſition, but alſo this long-during warre, burnings, fierings, butcherings, and the like, as a ſure medicine and helpe, for the rooting out of hereſie, and for a ſpecial care that he taketh for the Romiſh religion, and the maintenance thereof. Yet harken I pray you with attention to that which I more amply ſhall declare unto you of this matter, by which very clearly you may ſee and perceiue how exceedingly his exceſſiue great ſubtilties, policies, diſſimulations and hypocriſies doe maske themſelues, and lurk under this name of the Romiſh religion, and how providently and ſubtilly *Philip* abuſeth his religion.

You know that in former time the Roman Emperours, when the Roman Empire began to decline, uſed and took unto themſelues, in their titles the Name, and in their deeds the Authority & Dignity of the greateſt Pontifices or chief Prieſts: And now you ſee *Philip*, who for the enlarging and eſtabliſhing of his Government, ſets up all his

ſailes

ſailes to ſaile withal, and roweth with all manner of Oares: For though he attributeth not unto himſelfe the vain and bare name of the Pope of Rome? yet for all that he defineth and limiteth the Popes will and authority, with his will and pleaſure; yea, with his deſires and endevours: So that which once that famous and moſt excellent Poet *Virgil* ſaid; That *the Emperour Auguſtus poſſeſſed a divided Kingdome with Iupiter their chiefe god:* we may with more right and reaſon ſay of *Phillip*; That he with that great government of the Pope of Rome, hath ſo faſt bound and annexed his thereunto, and hath ſo eſtabliſhed and under-propt his intents, counſell, and will, with his will and ſuffrages; that the Pope muſt hold for good, conſent and command, all what he will. In ſuch manner, that we may well affirme; that this power and dignity of the Pope of Rome, in very deed is nothing elſe, but the Oracle of *Delphos* which alwaies *Phillippeth*. For when *Phillip* is deſirous of any great Kingdom, or mighty Lands of other Princes, which might be ſerviceable unto him; let him but make the Pope therwith acquainted, and write unto the Pope and his counſels of Cardinals, willing and commanding, that for the neglect or violating of Religion, the King of *France*, or the Queen of *England* be no longer tollerated in their Kingdomes; that the Lawes and Priviledges of the *Netherlanders* may be ſubverted; that they themſelues might be afflicted with grievous puniſhments; that they may be executed, and their goods may belong to them that ceaze upon them; that is, that they may be mine: this great *Iupiter* ſhall preſently conſent, and as it were with this godly rod of correction, giue unto this Plaintiffe *Phillip* the poſſeſſions of all the other. And this they thinke to be a ſufficient and lawful occaſion for the making of a warre, and for the exerciſing of all cruelty; and for the ſwallowing up of yours, the next-adjacent mighty Kingdomes; and our Lawes and Priviledges.

And thinke not that the Pope, or his Cardinals, may, will, or dare deny, or gaine-ſay *Phillip* in that, in regard, that the Cardinals, for the moſt part, are made upon that condition, that they may ſeldom or never gain-ſay or oppoſe; but alwaies are to condiſcend to the entent and deſires of *Phillip*.

I ſpeak the truth, ô Princes, and you know that it is ſo indeed, that *Phillip* ruleth, not ſimply with words in the Councel at Rome,

but he hath brought ſuch manner of men into the ſame, who haue aſſuredly promiſed to aſſiſt his Government, and intention, both in word and deed: that he giueth and ſendeth vnto many of the Cardinals (though I wil not ſay that he yearly doth maintain them) exceeding great giftes: that he oftentimes threatneth the Pope and the Cardinals with his diſpleaſure and indignation, and publiquely ſaith, That he wil make tryal of, and repair vnto other Defendors of the Romiſh Religion, if in caſe they deny him that which he deſireth for the eſtabliſhing of his tyrannie: For he wil haue all his moſt wicked enterpriſes, ſurprizings, oppreſſions, murthers & tyrannies, ſhal be publiſhed, eſteemed & held for good works by the Pope of Rome. He thinketh it is an injurie done vnto him, that any man, in what caſe ſoeuer, ſhould ſpeak againſt him, in regard he ſo highly eſteemeth his own Authority, Majeſtie, and Dignity in ſuch manner, that the proſperity of all Chriſtendom; yea, the welfare, life, liberty, houſe and home, the meanes and good fortune of all men, of beliefe and power, muſt be concredited and attributed vnto his holineſſe.

Theſe Popes *Sixtus Quintus*, and *Gregorie* the foureteenth, thundred out of their *Mauſoleum* of *Trajanus*, their impotent flaſhings and lightnings, againſt the perſon, kingdom, and poſſeſſion of the King of *France*, *Phillip* made vſe of theſe occaſions for a future warre: When Pope *Sixtus* the fifth (who was wiſer and of a liberal diſpoſition) being afterwards aware of his ginns, traps and deceits, reuoked the excommunications, envies, hatred and enmity. He hereby ſeemed exceedingly to fauour the King of *France* againſt *Phillip*, by which meanes he not onely purchaſed the evil wil and the extreme hatred of all Spaniards, but alſo therby brought his own life to an end, Two yeares before, *Phillip* had effected and brought to paſſe by meanes of this Pope, that all Chriſtians, that ſhould pray an houre or two every day vpon their knees in the Churches before the Altar, for the peace of France, that they therfore ſhould haue and obtain, certain thouſand yeares remiſſion of all their ſinnes? And yet for al this, he was not aſhamed in the mean while to hinder, let; yea, and to forbid, that the Pope ſhould giue no audience vnto the Legacies or Embaſſage of the Cardinal *Gondius*, with the Marſhal of *Piſa*, and the Duke of *Nevers*, who were diſpatched and ſent thi-

thither about the peace in *France*. Beſide this, he commanded that his Embaſſadours ſhould preſently depart as enemy out of Rome, as ſoon as thoſe Embaſſadours of peace ſhould be admitted and tolerated in the Citie of Rome. But what a miſchievous work, and moſt wicked and impudent counſel was that of *Phillip*, which he after ſo many ſecret conſpiracies, privy intrappings, or rather concealed treacherous covenants, gaue himſelfe in France to publicke robberie and paracide, as the murthering of a kinſman; Who by his and other mens counſel and help, under the promiſe of an oath, procured to Popiſh Prieſt or Frier, being ſuted in the habite of a ſpiritual perſon, with a very friendly countenance and familiar courage, without any anger or ſhew of impatiency, without being abaſhed by reaſon of any fear, did ſheath his knife in the body of that great King of France, who was of the bloud and kinred of the King of Spain? Neither haue theſe Spaniſh paraſites and flatterers, feared to nominate and cal this abominable deed, with that fair and goodly name, ſaying, *That it was a ſtab given from heaven.* This paracide and murderer of the King is accounted and reckoned among the number of Saints. His friends and kinred (as out of duſt and dirt, even from their vile, baſe, and contemptible eſtate,) by the recommendation, command, and aſſiſtance of *Phillip*, are advanced to great eſtate, and to a Cardinals dignity.

Thoſe ſecret and lurking traps of treacherie, and thoſe publick combuſtious flames of Chriſtendom, which he cannot cleare, uphold and maintain, by humane or publick juſtice; thoſe, his peſtilent dominion ſeeketh to cleare, free and acquit, with the vizard and colourable deceit of Religion, and the Catholike name. And therfore wil I by your patience, ô Princes (having no deſire to revile, calumniate nor traduce, but out of an ardent deſire of piety, and a longing deſire to confeſſe the truth) declare unto you, how many evil parts, paracides, and laſcivious luſtfulneſs doe lurk in *Phillips* own family, which altogether are vailed, ſhrouded, masked and covered, with the Catholike name and Religion, and are accounted for holy and pious deeds.

To the end that he might leaue a ſonne, and a lawful inheritance to all his great kingdomes; He, by an holy and pious diſpenſation, had ſo much leaue, that he might tyrannically murther or make away

Note here the tyrants cruelties.

way his owne lawful wife, being the daughter and ſiſter of the kings of France; and in her place to marry his owne Neece, unto whom he was uncle.

By the Popes diſpenſation it was lawful for *Philip* (and that forſooth for an holy intention) to make away his owne ſon *Charles* the Prince of Spain; becauſe he ſeemed to be favourable and well-affected to the Lawes and Liberties of the Netherlanders: becauſe alſo hee did not altogether ſeem to conſent to the deaths and murtherings of many Princes; and becauſe that he ſaid that the Netherlandiſh Provinces were his, and that they were given him at his Baptiſm.

It was alſo lawful for *Philip* to haue two wiues at one time aliue, in one and the ſame bonds of Matrimony, *viz.* the Queen of *Portugal*, and the Lady *Iſabella Oſoria*. And what work of proper and peculiar diſhoneſtie was not branded upon his life? What ſhameful reproach and ſtain of immodeſty is there, which doth not cleaue and adhere unto his name? Yet for all theſe, he knowes how to arme, and how to defend and patronage the ſame, with that honourable and pious title of the Catholike King. Is this the man that wil invoke, inforce, and oblige others to piety, and to the exerciſing of Religion? Dare he for his Religion, undertake and proſecute a warre againſt the Religion of all men? Can he by moſt cruel, and the like not heard-of puniſhments, purge and abſolue, the Religion of all France, England, Netherland, and all Chriſtendome, wheras he himſelfe is ſpotted and tainted with ſo many ill properties?

I think now, ô Princes, that you doe ſufficiently underſtand that *Phillip* at no time, ever reſolved nor concluded to defend, reverence and obey the Romiſh Religion; but it was to ſerue his owne turn, under the ſhew and pretence of ſome piety, for the defending of ſome of his notorious and vile abuſes, and for all accidental matters and occaſions, which might befal his unjuſt and ambitious government.

What think you then, that the Netherlanders could any longer tolerate and endure ſuch like cruelties? By the which all ſorts of people; yea, even the very nobleſt and chiefe of the Nobles and Gentrie (as if they had been beaſts, without either reaſon or ſpeech)

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by falſe accuſations of neglecting the Religion (even to the great rejoycing of all Spaniards) ſhould be daily butchered, to the end that our Priuiledges, to the end that our Lawes, to the end that our Libertie ſhould periſh and be loſt, and that with their liues, all thoſe that fought to defend or maintain the ſame, ſhould die and periſh? Was it poſſible that we could endure this tyrannie any longer, ô Princes? Was this to maintain Religion? Was this vizard and coulourable deceit of piety, even to the ſubverſion of our liberty and liues, longer to be maintained and to be accepted for good? I doe not think that any man will ſay ſo. Therfore meer neceſſitie, and the welfare of all the Netherlanders at the long-laſt required, that the States in theſe grievous accidents, ſhould begin to aſſiſt their Reipublick, thus tending to ruine; and to reſiſt the moſt cruel intentions of the moſt barbarous men. Neither doe the States thinke, as yet, upon any violence, Armes or warre: but being more patient in ſuffering wrong, then it is poſſible for any man to beleeue, they goe that way, and take the courſe; that is, of right and reaſon: and with the greateſt modeſtie that poſſible might be, they deſire in a requeſt or petition to the Dutcheſſe of *Parma*, and doe admoniſh her; that if ſhe wil not utterly deſtroy the Reipublik, that ſhe muſt leaue off that new and uncredible rigour and ſeverity of the Inquiſition; and to moderate and ſlacken a little that extreme raging furie: but they were deſpiſed of her, and oppoſed with up-braidings and revilings: they were called *Geuſes*, that is, beggars! What people were theſe? Such people (or elſe I would I might not liue) who for the liberty of the Reipublick, and for the Law of our Country, deſired nothing elſe, but that which in all equity and good right they were bound to do. By what maner of people were they thus reviled? By ſuch men indeed, which neither did excel them in Nobility of birth, nor in the aboundance of Riches; but in the abilitie of their minds, in counſel and valour, far unworthier then theſe excellent men and defenders of their native Countrey were. Peradventure you wil alledge that they were ſubjects. What then? Did ever good Prince ſet at naught the petitions and deſires of his ſubjects? Aſſuredly King *Artaxerxes Mnemon* the brother of *Cyrus*, did not onely take leaſure, and attend, to hear all thoſe that deſired any thing of him, but commanded alſo his Queen, that whereſoever

ſhe ſhould be, to take away the Curtaines or Tapiſtry of her Coach or Chariot of State, to the end that all thoſe that would, might the more conveniently ſpeak unto her. *Titus Veſpaſian* ſaid, *That he had loſt a day, when he had not daily beſtowed ſome benefit or other upon ſome of his ſubjects.* But yet let us giue way and aſſent unto this abuſe and revilings of the diſdainful and ſhamefully pufft-up-proud Spaniard: Let us far rather conſider into what danger our Reipublick is brought; As alſo that neither the long continued patience, nor thoſe moſt modeſt petitions of the States, could any whit mittigate or mollifie that Arrogancie and Contumacy.

The chiefe and beſt Lovers of our Liberty; the principal of the Lords doe perſevere; they make ſute almoſt to every Spaniard that that was at Court, that was of any ſpecial reſpect or note, and giveth them to underſtand the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Common-weal, praying and intreating them, that they would giue the Dutcheſſe and the King to underſtand in their counſel and by letters, what a darke and ſmoking ſhew of civil-broiles and diſſentions, threatned the moſt flouriſhing Reipublick with great miſeries and calamities; if he did not moderate and ſlacken thoſe cruelties, bloud-ſheddings, baniſhments, and that robbing of their goods. But when as they after a long time, by this meanes could effect nothing, they ſent the Earle of *Egmond*, as Embaſſadour unto the King, who with letters from the States, and by word of mouth, might relate unto the King, the ſtate of the Reipublick. The King granted and promiſed unto him, that he would make that all things ſhould goe wel, according to the wiſh of all the Netherlanders: but in the letters that he gaue this Embaſſadour, he threatned the States with more grievous puniſhments. And afterward, when the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond, and all the Princes of the Empire, being moved & entreated by the *Netherlanders*, to doe them this benefite, that they would intercede, intervein, and ſpeak for them unto King *Phillip*, and the Spaniards; to knit up, and to eſtabliſh the peace. They got for their anſwer; they ſhould take care for their own affaires, the King knew wel enough how, and in what manner he muſt rule over his Subjects.

Yet let us omit theſe light matters, if it be a light matter, after ſuch a peremptory and puffed-up manner to anſwer an Emperour

ſo,

ſo, and to diſdain the Authority (or reſpect) and the Recommendation of ſuch Princes. If it be a light matter to diſdain a Prince, the Embaſſadour of the *Netherlands*; and with vain pretences to ſalue up his mouth. And let us far rather ſpeak of thoſe matters, whoſe viciouſneſſe maketh them heavie.

All this while the States perceiving that *Phillips* cruel tyrannizing increaſed, and came to an unmeaſurable greatneſs; they intreated the Dutcheſſe, that with her wil, authority and reſpect, they might for the ſecond time ſend Embaſſadours unto the King, *viz.* the Marquis of *Berghen*, and the Baron of *Montigney*; to the end that they by their Orations, Interceſſions, and Intreaties might mollifie and mittigate the exceeding great obduratenes of the Kings cruel minde, which made him altogether unfencible.

But what became of theſe Embaſſadours? Were they (as the manner is) preſented with any gifts, or otherwiſe honoured? Were they anſwered? Were their deſires granted; or, that which cannot be denyed by no Law, were they at leaſt honourably diſcharged? O no; the Marquis was made away with poyſon; and *Montigney* was carryed away by *La Motto* and *Medina*, and was publiquely beheaded: and after this manner were the Embaſſadours of the *Netherlands*; after this manner were theſe illuſtrious perſons, and after this manner were thoſe good Patriots made away, and executed.

Now the *Spaniards* doe not any longer rend and teare the Civil Lawes, but the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations is by them violated, ſcandalized and broken. What need I ſay more? To what end ſhould I proceed further to demonſtrate and proue that our warre is lawful and holy againſt *Phillip*? Conſidering that this one wicked act; this deed worthy to be puniſhed, doth ſufficiently deſerue and merit, not onely to defend our ſelues, but that we our ſelues once may hope to ſuppreſſe that Tyrant himſelfe in his own Kingdom of Spain. For this our manner of dealing, this lawfulneſſe of our warre doth ſhine unto all Nations of the earth, even from nature it ſelfe, yea, it is tolerated even of the immortal God himſelfe.

If any Embaſſadour of the Romanes by any manner of meanes were endamaged (if he were not publickly ſatiſfied) the cuſtome of

the Romanes was to proclaim warre againſt that Citie; and becauſe that their Embaſſadours were proudly reſiſted in the Citie of *Corinth*, they razed the Citie topſey-turvey. Becauſe that their *Fidenish* Embaſſadour, by the command of *Laertes Tolumnius* King of *Viento* was executed, they ſet up the pictures of them, and promiſed great ſummes of mony to them that could apprehend of them; and finally they beſiet the Citie and people of *Viento* with a ſiege, and with bloudy warre. The ſame Citie haue the *Tarentines*, by a cruel warre brought under the yoke of their government, becauſe that they had handled their Embaſſadours ſomewhat too ſaucily. But we paſſe by theſe things which haue happened neer at hand, and goe to matters which haue been done far from us.

Becauſe that in our time *Fregoſius* and *Rinas* Embaſſadours of the King of *France* were put to death, the Emperour uſing connivance, or rather annuence in the acting of that inhumane deed, almoſt all Chriſtendom was ſet on fire by that war. For the *Romanes* had ſhewed by their example or fore-act, and by their moſt provident deeds in former times, what the Emperor in ſuch an horrible matter ought to haue done; for they delivered *Manlium* and *Minutium* over to the enemy, becauſe they ſomewhat too lewdly had abuſed their Embaſſadours, the which by the *Fecial*, or Law of Arms was forbidden.

And that Law for abuſing Embaſſadours is not onely eſtabliſhed by human Laws, but alſo by the Law of God, like as the holy Scripture teſtifieth unto us. For aſſuredly I know, that never any Prince, with greater ſeverity, did revenge the death, or the abuſe of his Embaſſadours more then did King *David* (the godly Prophet of the moſt high God) againſt *Hanun* King of the *Ammonites*; Becauſe that they abuſing his Embaſſadours, had ſhaved off the halfe of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle. O how many plagues? O how much bloud-ſhed? What cruel and unheard-off deeds happened for this abuſe? But the day would faile me if I ſhould repeat all the acts of ſuch like deeds. As of *Aulus Varrus* (who was accounted for a very ſevere Iudge) had wont to ſay, when witneſſes were produced, and alſo others named: Theſe Witneſſes (ſaith he) are ſufficient, or elſe I know not what may be ſufficient. So haue I produced examples or fore-deeds ſufficiently to proue, how horrible ill it is for a Prince,

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as alſo for all men to put to death the Ambaſſadour of a commonaltie; and that ſuch an evil deed ought to be puniſhed with war and with death. Certainly the name of an Embaſſadour ought to bee ſo reſpected, and of ſuch dignity, that thoſe who beare the name thereof, ought to be free, not onely within the Iuriſdiction of their confederates, but even in the midſt of the arrowes, ſwords, pikes, and ſhot of their enemies.

Verily if ever, or at any time it happened, that any barbarous man or Prince, were moved either by neceſſity, or by any other occaſion, to put to death the Ambaſſadors of their enemies, they haue done the ſame then either privately or covertly by ſome ſecret plotting; but *Philip*, that inhumane tyrant of all Chriſtendome (I can no longer refrain my ſelfe from giving him that name) *Philip* (I ſay) at what time the Ambaſſadour of his ſubjects, an obedient people, and no enemies, came unto him, is by ſentence of the Iudges, publickly condemned, and cauſed openly to be beheaded by the Executioner. Wherefore? Becauſe he was come unto him with a ſupplication or requeſt for the welfare of his native countrey; with a legacie or Embaſſage, as Embaſſadour of the Netherlands.

Could the Netherlanders then affect, loue, and be obedient unto his government? Alas, alas, yes, as if they had quite forgotten all thoſe injuries, they longed and wiſhed daily for his comming; for to enjoy his preſence was all their vehement and earneſt deſire. For both by letters and by Ambaſſadors the king at divers times moſt earneſtly was ſought unto; that he would once againe returne into the Netherlands; and that he himſelfe might ſee and perceiue, with what good wil and affection every one was ready to entertaine, and to obſerue his honeſt and reaſonable precepts and commandements. So that if there were any thing, that either the cruelti'e, or the malevolence of thoſe great commanding Lords, could not performe nor diſpatch, then he himſelfe might order and redreſſe the ſame. Finally, if there were any thing, which either by the negligence or careleſneſſe of his ſubjects was decayed; that he by his moderation and Benevolence might reeſtabliſh and bring into a better courſe.

At the long-laſt it was verily beleeved that the States by their intreaty had allured the king thereunto, that he promiſed to returne into the Netherlands, and to performe all this. O what joy, mirth,

and rejoycing was then aboundantly powred into the minds of all the Netherlanders? With what great good wil and deſire did they look for their king and Prince? How great and exceeding coſtly was all the preparation and proviſion of the nobilitie? How did the hearts of the commonaltie then leape and dance in their bellies for joy? And who is able to recken up the ſuper-abounding charges which the whole Reipublik by their eſpeciall bounty and loue, did free-willingly poure out, for the furniſhing and ſumptuous proviſion of two Fleets, the one fleet to fetch the King himſelfe with his Nobles that accompanied him, and his ſervants and guard that attended him; which fleet was exceedingly provided, and furniſhed aboundantly with all delicate proviſion; and rode at anker in *Spain*, attending to receiue the king, when it ſhould pleaſe him, and to bring him over. The other Fleet was in Zealand, ready prepared for the greater ſecuritie and magnificent ſtate, to haue met the King at ſea, as ſoone as he ſhould haue gone aboord the other fleet in Spain.

The affections, good-wils, and the eſpecial loue of the Netherlanders unto the King, was ſo great, that although they had been diſturbed, moved, and affrighted with his government, with ſo many evils and injuries; and by his precepts and commandements were brought into ſo many and great perils and dangers; that yet for all theſe they wiſhed for him (whom in his continual abſence they did reverence with all officiouſneſſe) to ſee him in their natiue countrey, in their Reipublick, that they might behold, receiue, and embrace him with the armes of their benefits.

I haue according to my abilitie made relation of moſt of thoſe things which happened under the government of *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Parma*. Now there remaineth to declare ſome things which happened under the Duke of *Alva*. And firſt, this I wil ſay of him, That like as it is ſayd of *Hannibal* of *Carthage*, that hee as yet being but a child of nine yeares of age, made an oath unto his father before the altar, that he for ever would be enemy unto the Romanes; even ſo it ſeemeth that naturally this *Alva* was born and brought up to hate us, to ſpoil us, and to be our deſtruction. For he came not into our countrey as others did, to be viceroy, or the Kings Lieutenant; but came prauncing into our confines, as an enemy with a great hoaſt of armed Spaniards, and other old Souldiers, out of the kingdomes

domes and garriſons of Sicilia, Naples, and Milaine. The King had given him in charge, that hee with all earneſtneſſe ſhould goe on and proceed to diſturbe, pervert, and confound the order, and inſtitution of our government. And that he both privately and publickly, ſhould execute every one which reſiſted his government, and ſhould make away all thoſe who in the leaſt ceremony, omitted, or neglected the Romiſh religion. The King placed this General in ſuch authoritie over the Netherlands, although hee were not of his bloud nor kindred, although that our lawes require that the Governour (as is before ſayd) muſt be of the blood and kindred of the Prince. Yet for all this, the Netherlanders receiue him, with the greateſt reſpect and dignitie, and admitted him with the greateſt obedience and ſubmiſſion into their Reipublick and cities, as ſoon as they underſtood, that the care and charge of their defence was given and committed unto him, by their King, Prince, or chiefe Lord. But as ſoon as the Duke of Alva came into the cities of the Netherlands, intending to bring us into all kinde of miſery and calamitie; He took an other courſe, after another maner and faſhion then the former did to effect and bring to paſſe the kings wil & command. For firſt, he preſently baniſhed, diſperſed, & droue away al the Chiefes, the principal of the Nobles, out of all the Provinces of the Netherlands, who had ſubſcribed their names in that requeſt or petition, or thoſe that had bounded themſelues in that covenant to maintaine the libertie of their natiue countrey, not unlike thoſe who had ſuffered themſelues to be ſhut up in the Trojane horſe.

And although during the government of the governante of Parma, an innumerable company of people were executed for religion with fire, water, ſword, and other ſhameful deaths; yet he thought that way and meanes not to be good enough, but thought that there was another way to be found out by which many more might be executed. And therefore he ordained another counſel which ſhould haue the authoritie to condemne, and to execute all thoſe which either ſeemed to be ſuſpected of religion, of rebellion, or contumacie. This counſel they named with its proper name, *The bloodie Counſell.* And although that by this counſel he had cut the throats and liues of ſo many men; that it ſeemed, they wold almoſt fil the Netherlands with the bloud of the moſt innocent men; yet could not that moſt

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cruel and unſatiable mind of *Alva* be ſatisfied; neither could all this great blood-ſhed quench his long-during bloud-thirſtie mind, For he thought that there was not halfe enough blood ſpilt, when as he boaſted himſelfe, that onely with bands, blowes, ſwords, and all kind of cruel puniſhment uſed by the hang-man, he had executed eighteene thouſand men. So that I am verily perſwaded, that *Alva* thought to make his name famous by crueltie, in regard he accounted crueltie for ſuch honor and commendation. Like as we read of *Lucius Sulla*, who boaſted himſelfe in the *Trium-virat*, that hee had cauſed foure legions of the other ſide to be executed, which had yeelded up themſelues in a common field upon his promiſe; and that he had done other cruel deeds.

But among all the acts which are moſt remarkable that were done by the helpe and conduction of the Duke of *Alva*, whereof he moſt boaſteth, and for which he moſt vaunteth himſelfe, was, that he by falſe accuſation, for rebellion and contumacie, had condemned two of the moſt nobleſt Lords, viz. the Earles of *Egmond* and *Horne*, and certaine other Nobles of great houſes, and had cauſed them publickly to be executed by the hang-man at *Bruſſels*, O how bitter were theſe executions to our native countrey! How grievous were they to all honeſt and true-hearted people! Yet all that whatſoever I ſhal ſpeak of *Alva*, and of all the other commanders of the Netherlanders; or haue ſpoken of them, you muſt, ô Princes, ſo underſtand the ſame, & perſwade your ſelues, that they neither attempted, nor performed any thing which was not onely according to the wil and knowledge of *Philip*, but was alſo by his counſelling put in execution. For the poſts and meſſengers of this counſel rode ſtil to and fro. And if all theſe things had not been done by the wil and counſel of the King, which theſe commanders and counſellors did; he would not indeed ſo haue honored, advanced, & rewarded them, with honors, offices, and rewards, as ſignes and tokens of their good carriage, when he called them home out of the Netherlands. The Cardinal *Gran-velle* he made vice-roy, or Lieutenant of *Neples*; *Alva* he appointed over the kingdome of *Portugall*, and reverenced him as his father.

So that I aſſuredly perſwade my ſelfe, that *Alva* confeſſeth himſelfe, that he by the command and commiſſion of his King *Philip*,

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by violence, and most unjustly by force of Armes, sought to get from us the tenth and twentieth peny. By which dealing he not onely digressed from the wil of the States, their consent and pleasure, but even from the Lawes themselues, and reason; when he presently did punish both by Amercements and death, all those, who against his intolerable taxation spake but any one word of the libertie and Lawes of the Republick. One businesse he did without the knowledge of his *Philip*, by his owne authoritie and power, when as he taxing an Alderman of Amsterdam, by his most unjust Taxation, drew from him twelue thousand and six hundred guldens. But *Alva* confesseth himselfe, that this must be registred under his commenages. Let us now proceed to greater and weightier matters.

Mark, I pray you, this mans cruelltie, or that I may the better expresse it, this most raging beast. *Alva* before, had but tasted of the Citizens blood; now he was desirous to drinke of the same in ful carrowses, to quench his blood-thirstinesse; and to that end he made choyce of 17 of the chiefest Citizens of *Brussels*; which Citizens, because they had but onely in words opposed his most unjust and over-great taxation; he commanded that all of them in one night should be strangled. But hearken, I pray you, what diligence, consideration and leisure *Alva* used to invent and to appoint this manner of punishment; and consider that he as a good instructer and master of the hangman, prescribed unto them what provision should best serue to execute them withal, and how the same must be us'd and applied. For he had told the hangman (master *Charles* by name) that he must be provided of seventeene ropes to strangle those Citizens whereof we haue spoken. He should also make ready so many ladders of ten or twelue foot long, for in that night he would dispatch that work.

Emanuel de Meter affirmeth 70 Citizens, and Mr. Guilielmus in his Morning Wacker. confirmes it.

Yet *Alva* proceeded not in this matter, for when all things were ready, and when (for their greater securitie) the soldier stood ready in their Armes to doe this; there came just at that same time, a messenger, who brought newes, that our men had wonne and taken in the *Brill* againe. Very shortly after, as if he had had to doe with enemies, he began a most cruel warre, and besieged the chiefe cities, surprised them, and with the most lamentable burnings, robberies, and most abhominable murthers, he destroyed, subverted, and

extirpated them. Thoſe cities which he took in by compoſition, by accord, upon condition and promiſe, and upon his faith, ſurrendred themſelues, yet all this could not defend them, nor divert him from his moſt cruel violations, and un-heard-of wicked and inhumane deeds.

When he had taken in the the towne of Naerden, he then firſt ſent for foure hundred of the Citizens, out of their houſes to come to the Towne-hall, as if there he would haue publiſhed ſome thing unto them; that every one of them, becauſe they were agreed with their enemies, and repoſed themſelues upon his faith and promiſes, that they ſhould be kept ſafe and harmleſſe both in body and goods: There were they all of them pittifully murthered. From thence the Spaniſh Souldiers ranged up and downe as if hell had been broken looſe, to the performance of all vitious attempts, and filthy violations; And firſt, they raviſhed and defloured all the modeſt and honeſt women, widowes and virgins, and afterwards murthered them, The children and moſt innocent ſucking babes, who with their innocent cries ought to haue molified the raging furie of their crueltie, were broched upon pikes, rent and cut in peeces: which things haue ever been ſo abhominable and deteſtable unto all reaſonable ſouls, that they, even yet unto this day, and daily are abaſhed and amazed when they but heare theſe things ſpoken of.

And I pray you what manner of crueltie and furie uſed he when he had taken in *Haerlem* and other townes, to their extreame oppreſſion and ſpilling of blood? Come hither all you *Philarides*, Accurre hither *Buſirides*, *Sulla*, *Neroes*, *Domitians*, *Caligulaes*, behold and view, be aſtoniſhed with admiration, be amazed at the crueltie of *Alva*; was not his crueltie and oppreſſion great, who had not one onely joynt of his body free from miſchiefe? His tongue was full of deceit and perjurie, his hands defiled with innocent blood, his feet were ſwift to the ſubverſion and deſtruction of the common-wealth: and thoſe members which in modeſty may not be named, were aboue meaſure ignominious.

Yet among many other deeds that *Alva* atchieved, let not this our diſcourſe forget not turne over one, which is very remarkable; And firſt let me ask him this queſtion. What joyfuller day canſt thou remember, ô *Alva*,, which was ſo joyfull and delightſome unto thee,

thee, as when thou (with unaccustomed and invented punishments and tortures, hadst executed so many thousands of most innocent people; when thou hadst so possest all the Netherlanders with such an amazement of thy cruel tyranny; when thou hadst scattered and dispersed the accession of all the Nobles and Gentlemen, who intended to haue gone to the Prince of Orange) hadst passed by shipping the Mase, and wast returned into Antwerpe, and hadst erected that *Trophe* (or image of victory) of thine, and all the Spaniards cruell tyranny?

Behold, I pray you, ô Princes, mark and take notice of this mans arrogancie and insolencie. *Alva* erected unto himselfe an image in the middle of the castle of Antwerpe. The figure or representation was this: He stood upright with his feet upon the backes of the States, and of the Netherlanders, who lay stretched out along upon the ground. This representation, this *Trophe*, did this frantick conquerour erect unto himselfe, because no man else did or would attribute the same unto him. What was then yet wanting more, but that he alwayes might triumph and brag as he was worthy, with such triumphant and victorious honor? That he sitting with a shirt of male, died with the blood of the Citizens, should be drawne forwards; That a Page should present unto him a crowne yet wet and dropping with the blood that was newly spilt. Before his Chariot should be led the Netherlandish widowes and orphanes: Before him should be borne the tender bodies of sucking babes, and the heads of so many innocent people stickt upon pickes. The representation of the burnings, destructions, and of his cruell slaughters and murthers, should also bee represented. This triumphant chariot should be drawne by the dead bodies of our States, and of the best Patriots. And after this so victorious a conquerour should many thousands follow of Sergeants, Hangmen, Torturers and murtherers, with naked swords, roddes, ropes, clogges, clubbes, bands, and other torturing provision.

All the States of the provinces then being irritated and provoked by so many injuries and calamities, resolued with such a valiant disposition and generall consent of voyces (as I haue sayd already) to spend their liues, meanes and goods for the delivering of the Netherlanders, and for the prosperitie thereof. Although that they did

as every wiſe man and good Citizen ought to doe, and unwillingly prepares for a civil warre, and not to proſecute all things to the uttermoſt) very difficultly, and by compulſion undertook the warre. For they ſaw that there was no other means left to eſcape the ſhamefulleſt death, and the moſt deteſtable ſlavery of the Spaniards. They ſaw that their letters, ſupplications and Embaſſages helped them not. That your mediation, O moſt illuſtrious Emperour, nor your interceſſion and intervention, moſt mightie and moſt peaceful Princes, availed them not; That there was nothing left unto them, but onely to take Armes, wherewith they might caſt off that yoke of bondage from their neckes. Like unto one that being in a ſhippe, and chafed by Pyrates, and one ſhould ſay unto him, Leape out of the ſhipp, for there is a Dolphin which will carry thee upon his backe, as once he did *Arion* of *Methiranum*, as the Poets doe feigne. Or as the horſes of the Heathens ſea-god *Neptune*, as it is reported in old time, drew the hanging waggon. So ſhall you unawares by ſome body be drawne forward, and brought whither you deſire, like as hee (being a heathen) ſhould lay aſide all feare; even ſo, ſo many terrible, rigorous and infinite croſſes and calamities, oppreſſing the Netherlands; the States relying upon God, doe take Armes; and truſting in him, as their onely hope, to obtaine againe their libertie. This hope hath the high God, even from the beginning, ſtirred up and augmented in them, when they ſaw the towne of *Brill*, *Vliſſing*, and other fortifications of the Netherlands to be taken in againe, and other worthy acts and deeds, which were done with a valorous und warlick courage; ſo that the Spaniards then began to runne more ſlowly in their paths and beaten way of tyranny; and procured certaine in their behalfe, which promiſed peace to the Netherlanders, if they very humbly would pray and intreat the ſame of the King. The States alſo ſeeing that their native countrey was much weakned by the cruelty and rigor of warre, ceaſed not to counſel and adviſe to peace and unitie. Oh that this counſell and advice to the Spaniſh peace, had never entred into the mindes and thoughts of the States: but that all their affections had much rather been united everlaſtingly, alwayes and without ceaſing, to haue aſſaulted, oppoſed, and by warre to haue attempted againſt the Spaniard. Our Reipublick had then ſtood & flouriſhed, &

the

the enemy with all his wicked imaginations and treacheries, with ſhame and diſhonour had fallen.

For wheras in the affections of our *Netherlands* remained yet certain ſparkes of the former loue and inclination, to the King of their Reipublick? ſo they, with an eſpecial and careful modeſty, and milde meekneſs, deſired and propounded the moſt lawful and juſt conditions of peace, which the Spaniard promiſed alwaies to keep and maintain unviolably. But they had promiſed that upon a faiſe and diſſembling ground, to the end that they might take ſome eaſe, and might reſt by that meanes from the warre; and afterwards might with the greater violence and force renew and begin the warre again. For in that ſame yeare did this moſt cruel enemy run over the whole *Netherlands* with his Armes: The Souldiers were inforced to retire into the diſtreſſed Townes; all the good Citizens and Burgers, were robbed and ſpoyled of all their gold, ſilver, and all their other meanes: and *Antwerpe* was ſo wholly, ſo miſerably, and ſo pittifully ſpoyled, burnt and deſtroyed: that even the deſcription of this one act of theirs, maketh a whole volume or book in our Chronicle or book of Remembrances. *Leyden* was for the ſecond time beſiegred, to the great danger and hinderance of their beſt and ableſt Citizens. Afterward was *Vtrecht* (a great and mighty Citie ſituate upon the *Rhyne*) uſed with the like cruelty as *Antwerpe* had beene. Our people then adding and applying to their great heart-griefe, this calamity, to their former calamities; could nor were able any longer to indure this cruel government: but like men revived, begann their former warre with a valiant Reſolution, and ſo carryed the buſineſſe, that every one had hope and courage that the Reipublick, (the Land and Comonalty) would be brought to good effect.

But the *Spaniards* the ſecond time, laid the hand of their deceit upon our hope, and offered peace again unto the *Netherlanders*; whereunto they were the more eaſily induced, in regard that all honeſt and good men haue a loathing and deteſtation of all thoſe bloud-ſheddings and out-rages, which warre occaſioneth. The remembrance of the former reſt, cauſed them the more earneſtly to attend to their peace-counſelling, which they very faithfully intended & entertainted; perſwading themſelues, that therin was no hypocriſie nor deceit: For the more honeſt a man is, the leſſe ſuſpition

hath he of another mans diſhoneſtie. So that by the interpoſing of the Emperour *Maximilian* the ſecond, there was a new peace made and concluded at *Breda*; which peace by the *Spaniards* had the like beginning, and the like event as the former had. For they provided and fortified themſelues in the mean while for warre, whoſe eies were ſtill gazing upon us for our deſtruction. And that ſame yeare they ſurprized the Townes of *Buerin*, *Leerdam*, and *Oude-water*; they beleagred *Zirieck-ſea*, and in the end they turn again to the former robbing and roving, burning and firing, and to the moſt cruel tortering of Citizens that could be invented.

All theſe, and many more the like, betyded us in the time that *Requiſenius* ruled and commanded the Reipublick, whom the King thought moſt fitting and worthy to ſucceed *Alva* in the government, and in the dealing which he had uſed, as we haue ſaid before, whom a ſudden and unexpected death ſurprized, cutting aſunder the threeds of the firſt deſires and endevourings of this great Commander, whilſt he was praunſing and gallopping through the treacheries of the Spaniſh tyrannie.

That which the King of *Spain* could not bring to paſſe by this tyrant, that he aſſayed to effect by new inventions, and ſhameful tricks and treacheries of *Hieronymus de Rhoda*. This man was preſently after the death of *Requiſenius*, appointed by the King to be of the Counſel of State at *Bruſſels*, to the end, that he with them, might rule and govern in one conſent, over the Reipublick and common affaires, and that he ſhould correct and puniſh the mutinies, ſeditions, and uprores of the Spaniſh Souldiers, who had deſtroyed *Aelſt*, *Maſtricht*, *Antwerpe*, and the other Cities, with their cruel murthers, burnings, robbings and rovings, the like hath not been heard off. And this buſineſs was brought to that paſſe, that theſe deſtroyers were preſently publiſhed, declared and baniſhed, as being rebels, contemners, and enemies to the King. But not long after *Rhoda*, by his Spaniſh treacheries became himſelfe the head of thoſe Rebels. He uſed the Kings Seal, and deſpiſing the States, would publiquely be held for their Governour or Ruler.

By this his perfidious dealing were the States exceedingly troubled and offended; ſo that they all at once did combine themſelues, with the Prince of *Orange*, and with the *Hollanders* and *Sea-landers*, concluding,

concluding, that they muſt driue all the *Spaniards* out of the *Netherlands*, and that they muſt alwaies reſiſt and oppoſe them with warres and weapons to their uttermoſt endevours.

In the mean time, nevertheleſſe, the States forget not their dutiful obedience unto the King: but contrarily doe pray and intreat him very often, moſt earneſtly; that he would ſend for thoſe Spaniſh deſtroyers, out of the Land; and that he would puniſh them for their cruelties and inſolencies, by which they had diſtreſſed the chiefe Cities of the *Netherlands*. But what doe they get (I pray you) by their intreaties? The King commends *Rhoda*, and teſtifieth, that his ſervice is very acceptable unto him; and promiſeth unto him, and to the reſt of the *Spaniards*, ſuch rewards as their deeds ſhould deſerue. From whence it manifeſtly appeareth; that all things which formerly haue been ſpoken off, haue been firſt undertaken and attempted by the kings counſel and approbation.

Yet when the King perceived that by this meanes nothing could be effected, and that the *Netherlanders* were aware of ſuch treacheries, in ſuch manner, that they ſeriouſly prepared themſelues for warre: he thought it fitting to take another courſe with them, and inſtead of the Lyons, puts on the Foxes skinne and offereth them peace. The States very faithfully accepted the Peace again, and thought not that other Serpents of Spaniſh perfiduouſneſs did lurk in that green graſſe of peace. For this peace was maintained and kept firm and ſure; and was afterward confirmed and ratified by the oath of *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, (who preſently after came into the Countrey) and was ſo providently, and in ſuch manner determined and limited by the States, that all the *Netherlanders*, at the long-laſt, ſeemed by theſe able and worthy good men, to be delivered: And every one then wiped and waſhed off the teares of Civill warr from their cheeks. This was that pacification or Treaty of peace made at *Gent*, of the which now I wil ſpeak of, and relate unto you the deeds of this *Iohn* of *Auſtria*, whom the king at that time, had ſent as a Governour, or chiefe Lord over the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*.

In the mean time let me intreat you, *ô moſt peaceful Princes*, that you will hear me with a friendly and well-affected minde, the ſequel hereof, like as you haue heard me from the beginning; and fundamentally

mentally will understand wherfore the *Spaniards* doe most falsely accuse us; That this peace was violated and broken by us: which accusation I hold to be very grievous.

Among other Conditions, Lawes and Contracts of this peace, this was one of the chiefest and weightiest: That *Don Iohn* should not admit any *Spaniard* or stranger, nor any of them; by whose counsel and advise it was evidently known, that the Provinces were brought into that extreme spoil, into the Councel: And contrarily, he called, and sent for them to him, kept them in his Court, and in his most secret chambers; That *Baptista Taxis*, a most notable Spie, and enemy of our common affaires, who a little before had been Secretary unto Duke *d'Alva*, who was not onely adjoyned to his privy Councel, but also was made and set over them. Besides him one *Octavius Gonzago* an *Italian*, as also he took unto him one *Escovedo*, a crafty Spanish Fox, unto whom he adjoyned certain *Netherlanders*. But what *Netherlanders* I pray you? Those who partly had been the stirrers up and favourers of so many miseries; who were both hated of their native Countrey, and of all good men; *viz. Barlemont, Megan, Hierge, Flojon, Hautepenny, Assonville*, and other plagues of their Countrey, who having ordained the Law of *Lentulus, Cataline* and *Cassius*, established the same with their counsels and deeds, *viz. That all those that by preserving the Common-wealth would be preserved, should be declared for enemies.*

By this counsel and advice, the *Spaniards* presently, even at the beginning of this peace, should haue surprized the Town of *Gent*, if the good and profitable counsel, and also the valiant deeds of the States, had not hindred the same; For *don Iohn* himselfe could not refrain nor keep in his hatred and enmity any longer, which he bore to the *Netherlanders*, but had quickly forgot that sacred oath, which he had sworn, upon the Evangelists, before the Bishop of *Shertogenbosch*, and the Popes *Nuncius*, or spiritual Embassadour.

He had promised and sworn; that he would deal with all the souldiers in the *Netherlands*, who were 15000, about their Arrearages, to the end, that they therupon might be discharged; like as in the agreement of the peace had been concluded. And contrarily therunto, he promised the Souldiers, in the Kings behalfe, anew, to haue greater meanes, honours, offices and rewards: and held a most mis-

miſchievous counſel with *Fronſberghen* and *Focker*, Collonels of the German ſouldiers; part of whoſe wicked counſel he effected, and the reſt being hindred by the States he could not effect.

But yet to the end, that you may ſee and know the ground of this Buſineſſe, I will in few words declare unto you how the matter fell out: For under theſe two conditions or covenants, *viz.* in maintaining of the Romiſh Religion; and in yeelding lawful obedience to the King, did the whole Treatie of the peace conſiſt.

And when the States which had ſworn hereunto with an high Oath, then were they preſently admitted, that thoſe affaires concerning the Land, which preſently in the beginning of the treaty of peace were begunne, but could not be concluded upon, that they ſhould be diſpatched and concluded in the next aſſembly of the States.

But yet *Don Iohn*, whoſe affection burned with a luſt and longing deſire, by ſome ſecret and concealed practice to break the peace, and to begin the warre again, caſting all theſe conditions and promiſes at his heeles, made a way for thoſe complaints which *Philip*, and all the former Governours had uſed as a cloak to cover all their intended wicked imaginations againſt the Reipublick, *viz.* That the *Hollanders* and *Sealanders* neglected and deſpiſed the Romiſh Religion; and by that meanes the commandement of the King was neglected.

Vpon this Anvyle did they hammer night and day? they aſſailed the States, and were exceeding troubleſome unto them, counſelling them that they altogether ſhould beginne the warres, againſt *Holland*, *Sealand*, and the Prince of *Orange*, who was the moſt eminent Champion againſt the unjuſt government of the *Spaniards*, who indeed had been exceeding beneficial to the whole Common-wealth.

In this counſel *Don Iohn* had his eye upon theſe two objects, which ſhould be exceeding profitable and ſerviceable to further his intent; that by their Civill warres, the ſubſtance and treaſure of the land might be exhauſted, and they being weakned and bruyſed by their own warre, that then hee, with the more eaſe and conveniency might ſuppreſſe them together.

Wheras he ſtil perſiſting with theſe deſires and intreaties, beings as it were daſht againſt a Rock by a Tempeſt: The States anſwered

him; that it were better and more profitable for the Common-wealth, That concerning all thoſe matters wherof *Don Iohn* made his complaints, to haue them by a friendly compoſition decided, and united, in the aſſembly of the States; and if they could haue imprinted or perſwaded him to haue beleeved the ſame, we had never fallen into the miſeries of a Civil War.

For what is more repugnant to the common good, and to all humane Lawes and Iuſtice; then to try by warre, thoſe controverſies, which may be decyded by Right and Reaſon. *Archidamus* (though no Chriſtian King, but of a ſtately, honourable and provident Nation) ſaid; That it *was unlawful to take Armes againſt thoſe, who were willing to haue the matter tryed by Law.* When any injurie had been offered to the Romanes themſelues; they did not preſently beginne with warres: but did firſt ſend *Clarigatum*, that is, they cauſed thoſe things that were ſtollen or taken away, to be more apparently and manifeſtly demanded again.

But how profitable, good, and wel-ordred is the cuſtome of the Common-wealth of the *Venetians*, which I lately ſaw and obſerved; where they will not ſuffer that the principal Nobles themſelues of that flouriſhing Common-wealth, ſhould contend, chide, or maintain enmity among themſelues, for, or about other mens ſmall and petty affaires. But they bring the ſame into their Senate, or Councel, and there they deſire, pray, and admoniſh them, that they will remember, and be mindful, that they are all of them Saint *Markes* children (which name they haue given their Reipublick) and that they are brethren, and Burgeſes of ſuch a free and happy government, and that it was not beſeeming for them, for any particular buſineſſe, to cheriſh and foſter any private diſſention or hatred, which might therafter proue to be more general, to the peril and danger of that Reipublick.

Which cuſtome aboue all other affaires ought to be uſed in the affaires concerning the Land, and ought to be eſteemed of in all wel-ordered Common-wealths. If this were ſo, we ſhould not ſee one Citie ſo againſt another (oftentimes in one Province or Reipublick) or one Noble-man ſo againſt another of the contrary party, to threaten warre, murther, deſtruction, burning and blaking, nor violence to aſſault each other.

But

But now to return to our former purpoſe, in reſpect that there are two ſorts of warres: the one with words by way of Iuſtice; the other with violence. The firſt being proper to men, the ſecond to unreaſonable beaſts. And that we muſt neceſſarily avoide violence, unleſſe the courſe of juſtice be denyed us. Therfore we muſt beleeue that the States farre rather would haue decided thoſe controverſies, by their good and wholeſome counſels, by reaſon and conference; then to make them greater by warre and ſpilling the bloud of the Citizens. Contrarily *'Don Iohn* complaineth of the States very publiquely: He reproues and upbraids them all for Rebels, and then deales with the High-dutch Souldiers no longer by ſecret dealing in the affaires very prejudicial to the Common-wealth (with whom very cunningly he had long time dealt with all) but then began he very publickly to deal with them; ſo that the whole diſcovery of that buſineſſe, by divers intercepted letters, was fully come to the knowledg of the States. And many things they daily ſaw with their eyes, as firſt when he removed his Court and family, with his Councel-companions to *Bergen* in *Henegow* (being a very ſtrong Town, and very fit for his conjurations and complottings) and commanded that the ſame ſhould be provided with a ſtrong Garriſon.

Moreover, when as he ſurprized the Caſtle of *Antwerpe* by Trecherie, and did ſurprize thoſe wel provided and fortified Townes of *Namen* and *Charlemont*, and put a ſtrong guard into them of his own ſouldiers, thinking therafter by treachery to haue taken in the Town of *Bruſſels*. So that already the principal and chiefe Cities and Townes, by the great number of his Forts and *Citadels*, were beleagred and oppreſſed; and then he wholly began to ſet up himſelfe againſt the Reipublick; and alſo many other things were then done by his adviſe and motion: wheras he according to his oath, ought to haue adviſed, that all the ſouldiers ſhould haue laid down their Armes, and preſently to haue departed out of the Country.

All which things appearing manifeſtly to the eyes of the States, who adjudged that the ſame tended to the ſubverſion of the Common-wealth; they thought that they were bound continually to keep a good counſel-watch; neither did they turn their eyes aſide from the Reipublick, from that time that he ſought to haue all the govern-

ment alone, unto whom they in all officiouſneſſe (not being moved by any diſtemperature of minde) ſent as Embaſſadours unto him, *Marolens* and *Bruſius*, charging them that they ſhould preſent and ſhew, their full performance, innocencie, and integrity, and ſhould free them from all ſuſpicion and evil conceit, (the which they moſt certainly knew, that he miſchievouſly had diſſembled,) that the faith that was given at *Gent* ſhould be renued: they ſhould alſo promiſe, that the States ſhould make diligent enquirie, and execute ſevere puniſhment upon thoſe treacherous murtherers and conſpirators, who (as he ſaid) laid wait for his life, and had conſpired againſt him; (making a ſhew and diſſembling, as if to prevent the ſame, he went to *Namen:*) They would augment his Guard more then thoſe he had already, to the number of three hundred compleat armed men, who ſhould be all of them *Netherlanders*, the which before that time was never offered to any Governour or Ruler. And yet with all theſe ſupplications and intreaties they effected nothing; for there was neither modeſty nor reaſon to be found in *Don Iohn*. Nay, he could not bridle nor keep in his own evil arrogancie and audacious paſſion; but declared the ſame to *Marollens* at the ſame time of his Embaſſage, boaſting himſelfe, that he now did wholly aſſure himſelfe, and that hee doubted not, but that he had brought under the ſubjection of his wil and command, the Citie of *Antwerpe*; that he had no lack neither of money nor men; that he now had all things in a readineſſe, for the furniſhing of a warre; and that he with his ſword, would purchaſe unto himſelfe a greater authority, power, command and government; then the States had promiſed and granted him in the pacification of *Gent*; and that it was his will, that theſe Embaſſadours ſhould report all theſe things unto the States, for he would not conceale any thing from them that he knew to appertain to this his intent and wil. This matter is undoubtedly ſure and certaine, and ſufficiently known before this, ſo that here it is not needfull to produce witneſſes. And although it be a very miſerable thing, not to be able to deny, and very ſhameful to be confeſſ; yet I thinke verily that the *Spaniards* themſelues (although they be leſſe ſhameleſſe then a man would beleeue they are) cannot deny this at any time.

Don

Don Iohn had written unto *Tre-longe*, and to his other companions and fellow-workers of his ſecret trickes and conſpiracies, That hee had given as a Cymbrian ſpoile the wealth of the citizens of Antwerpe, for a prey unto his ſouldiers. The ſouldiers ranged already through the citie, as mortal enemies, and forced the citizens to giue them whatſoever they liſted. Many of the principal citizens began to fly out of the Citie, and as it were banished: by which meanes the traffique and trading of the Marchants by ſhipping, began to ceaſe. And although there were great and manifeſt tokens of their malignant enmity; yet nevertheleſs the States did beare all this very moderatly and modeſtly, and indeed would haue born yet much more, if that mortall and pittiful project which *Don Iohn* intended, had not been diſcovered and made manifeſt as the day; even as if a man at the firſt ſight ſeemed to perceiue ſome liueleſſe and inſenſible creature, and afterwards by more certain and ſure ſignes and tokens, beginneth to think of what qualitie that was whereof he doubted: even ſo the States did alſo very eaſily underſtand, by all thoſe things which they had ſeene, that this prince did cheriſh in his mind and counſels, an hatred tending to the ruine of the common-wealth: but of what qualitie that he was, and how farre he would extend himſelf over the reipublick, that they moſt evidently diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed thereafter, both out of his owne, and by letters from others. For there were many letters intercepted in Gaſconie, viz. Two of *Don Iohns*, written by himſelfe unto the King, and other from him written to *Anthonie Perez* the chirfe of the Kings Councell; Moreover fiue letters from *Eſcovedo* to the King, out of which the States might aſſuredly underſtand, that there were fed and bred monſters, and ſtrange impoſtures; that privat conſpiracies were there practiſed; that there was great diſſention mingled among the Cities and the Nobilitie of the Netherlands; and by what meanes the ſame was effected; and how fit and ſerviceable it was that tyrany and the Inquiſition, according to that firm reſolution of the Spaniards, ſhould be brought in & eſtabliſhed; and to that end ſoldiers, arms, and all warlick preparation very earneſtly was required for the king.

Conſider and underſtand, *illuſtrious Princes*, the ſecret and privie conſpiracies of this man: Heare the words which this man uſeth in his letters written to the King, which (as I ſayd before) were inter-

cepted. *In regard that this bodie* (ſayth he) *is ſo unhealthful, that it cannot be cured any otherwiſe, but by the cutting off of the unſound members, you muſt now carefully obſerue this occaſion which is preſented.* And *Eſcouedo* adds the vnto the reſt very amply, as a good interpreter of his meaning, who might very wel write that which *Don Iohn* himſelfe would not giue to vnderſtand. This *Eſcouedo* was the right minion and ſervant of Audacitie and Trecherie, whom I think by reaſon of his nature and manners, was named *Eſcouedo*, becauſe that he knew by his deceit to bring the miſerable Netherlanders into his net. He wrot that unto the King which *Don Iohn* would haue him to write, viz. *That it poſſibly could not be, that the Netherlanders ſhould bee brought under the pure and perfect obedience and will of the King, vnleſſe that firſt they were tamed and conſtrained thereunto with fire and ſword. That therefore both men and armes were very needfull, and that the ſame muſt be effected by warre.* By the which as a good architecture of the Spaniſh tyranny, he gaue them to vnderſtand, that the crueltie and rigour which *Alva* and *Requiſenius* had abuſed, muſt not continually be put in practiſe, but that the Netherlanders muſt be enſnared by a greater deceit and hypocriſie. Like as in Navigation, it is a poynt of knowledge to ſee before hand the ſtorme, that although men cannot attaine the haven, yet (if altering the courſe) you may attaine thereinto, then it is a fooliſh deed to keep that courſe which before was taken with great perill and danger, rather then that you altering the ſame, might attaine to the wiſhed for haven. For ſo was his opinion, that the firſt raging and madneſſe of the Spaniards muſt bee ſomewhat mollified, and now muſt goe to worke with diſſembled faith and promiſes. That *Don Iohn* who had an incredible moderation, and an indifferent minde betwixt Ambition and Crueltie, might very fortunately effect the ſame. He adviſed by his owne and his maſters counſell, that England ſhould be firſt ſurpriſed and conquered by warre, and then it would be very eaſie to ſurprize the Netherlandiſh provinces.

In thoſe letters which *Don Iohn* ſent unto *Anthonie Perez* his ſpeciall friend; He gaue him to vnderſtand that he was of ſuch a nature and condition, that he could not liue ſtil in idleneſſe, nor could away with the lawes of peace; and that his mind & conſcience could not indure that he ſhould wholly ſubmit himſelfe to the privileges

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and lawes of the Netherlanders, but that he farre rather by force of Armes would obtaine and effect for the king, a whole, abſolute, and unlimited government over the Netherlands.

And if now you do not ſufficiently ſee and perceiue, that *Don Iohn* firſt broke the pacification of *Gent*, where the ſame by ſo many and cleare proofes doth appeare. Then remember (by the eternal God) remember, I ſay, what reaſons he uſed to the Embaſſadors of our States at *Marche* and *Famines*, when he ſaid, that he would keepe the contracts and conditions of peace ſo long, until that covenant which was begun, ſhould repent him, that is, untill he by his ſweet entiſings, and hypocritical lenitie, having rockt the States aſleepe, at the laſt might deſtroy them; and with them ſuppreſſe the whole Reipublick. For after the death of *Iohn*, *Philip* ſhewed very manifeſtly that that ſame in very deed ſhould haue befalne us, like as he at *Mechlen* by the Lord of *Selles* certified and gaue them to underſtand, that he would break the lawes of the peace, and that he no longer would be bound to keepe them. But I pray you for what occaſion? was it for neglecting the Romiſh Religion? Aſſuredly it had never been more uſed nor reverenced with the like devotion, care, and diligence, nor never was the zeale of our people ſo greatly affected thereunto as then. The Biſhops of the Churches were then receiued; the Schooles and Colleges were partly inſtituted, partly renewed and augmented. Finally, there was not any thing omitted that ſerved for the maintaining of the cuſtomes and ceremonies of the Romiſh Church. So that our Netherland might wel haue compared, matched and ſtroven with Italy and with Rome the chiefe ſeat and Metropolitane of that Religion. The which the Popes *Nuncius*, (or ſpirituall Embaſſadour) who in his behalfe was ſent unto us, ſhal not deny the ſame. For he writing himſelfe unto the Pope concerning this, ſayth, that he did much admire, and was therefore exceeding joyfull, that thoſe preſcriptions and duties (or ſervices) of the Romiſh Church, were exceeding well maintained by the Netherlanders in great devotion and pietie.

How and after what manner the affections, wils, and devotions of all our States, and of all the Netherlanders were affected to the king, I need not to make repetition; neither is it needful to proue, that they delighted or loved any thing ſo much as to fulfil the kings com-

commands, and to ſhew obedience thereunto. The Trophæs, Pyramedes and Pageants which were made and prepared ſo ſumptuous and coſtly to the honor, and at the entrance of *Iohn*, can teſtifie this. How did all the Nobles with ſuch exceeding joy, wiſhing him good luck, receiue him? How did all the people with great mirth and rejoycings receiue him? What bankets and ſumptuous feaſts at the lands charge, were then with much delight made for joy thereof, that this peace was made and concluded? And what great triumphs all the Netherlanders made and demonſtrated upon all their Theaters when this peace was made, is yet teſtified by all the inhabiting ſtrangers, who were therat exceedingly droven to admiration, yea were even aſtoniſhed.

It was no otherwiſe then, but as if the Netherlanders had then found the beginning and principles of a wel-governed Commonwealth in the perſon of this their Chiefe, or Governor. Yea, thou thy ſelfe *Iohn*, if thou wilt but enter into thine owne heart and conſcience, ſhalt not be able to deny the ſame, That the Netherlanders did fully keep and obſerue all the contracts and conditions of the peace, which they were bound to keep; and never denied obedience unto the commandement of the king, if they were not more vile then the commandements of *Manlius*, if they did not too too much oppugne the lawes and priviledges.

But to the end that I may produce one inſtance which farre exceeds all mens admiration; and which ſhall perfect this our diſputation: you muſt for a certaintie acknowledge, that the ſtates had undertaken with force of Armes to haue forced the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* to haue done thoſe things which you moſt deſired, which was the induct on, and as it were the ground-work of your accuſations and complaints, if in caſe they by right, reaſon, and conference, could not be brought thereunto: which things you altogether ſcorned and rejected, and to the end that this one pretext, this onely pretence might remaine for matter for your falſe accuſations; And that this might be a juſt occaſion for your conjurations: yet this occaſion was not ſufficient thereunto, neither could it be ſufficient enough, in regard the ſame is manifeſtly known unto all men, not onely to Netherlanders, but alſo to all ſtrangers, who either ſaw the whole buſineſſe as it was carried, or elſe haue heard the ſame reported.

reported: That the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* haue alwayes entertained, received, and accompliſhed the preecpts and commandements of the King, no otherwiſe then if they had been the Oracles or commandements of God: That they never were careleſſe nor negligent in their offices or duties which by the law of Nature they were owing to their Prince. Yet this I wil freely confeſſe, (which I will attribute and conſecrate to their immortal and moſt high commendations) that the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* were the firſt counſellors, and ſhewed the way firſt to the other Provinces, to free and to maintaine the common liberty. For I wil at the laſt, *O you moſt prouident men, you moſt mightie States of Holland and Zealand,* convert and turn my ſpeech and oration from thoſe wicked and horrible dealings of that diſhonorable man; to your vertues, valours, and abilities. Should I ſo ſleightly paſſe by the worthineſſe and valiant deeds, and manly courage, whereof every mans mouth is full: and for which every one ſo highly commendeth, loveth, and honoreth you for.

You haue evermore with a valiant, conſtant and perſevering courage, reſiſted and rejected that moſt intolerable and moſt cruel ſervitude and thraldome of the Inquiſition, or Faith-preſſe. And if they now ſay, that the authoritie, reſpect and commandement of the King conſiſted therein; and that you in reſpect thereof, would not giue way, nor be obedient unto the ſame; wherein indeed conſiſteth your glory, and whereof you may juſtly boaſt; Yet you confeſſe, to your great commendation, that you haue given theſe occaſions unto the accuſations of *Don Iohn*: That you, being free from all faults, yet in this you are and will be faultie. And herein you may boaſt, That you with an eſpeciall providence and wiſedome, haue carefully watched and kept your ſelues, ſo that at no time, neither by any of theſe, nor any other Spaniſh trecheries, perjuries, tricks, or traps, you haue been couſoned, debaucht, nor inſnared: that you were the firſt which were inflamed with a ſingular conſtancie and courage, to deliver the Reipublick from the grievous yoke of tyranny and cruell government. That you with the toarch of your libertie, haue been a light to enlighten all the other Provinces. And that you had farre rather, by theſe long-during warres, be ſpent, dye, and indure all kinds of miſerie and adverſitie: then to forſake your cuſtomes, lawes and privileges. I beſeech the Lord God, by whoſe onely con-

duct, grace and aſſiſtance, you haue atchieved ſuch admirable things, that you may proſperouſly continue & perſevere therin from henceforth perpetually. Now wil I turne me againe unto that from which I haue digreſſed, and recommend unto your judgment and arbitrement, O Chriſtian Princes, all what I haue ſpoken of the deeds of *Don Iohn*. Take notice, iudge, and ſpeak what you think thereof. Conſidering that of all the States parts, there is nothing omitted, which by the law and contract they had promiſed to doe: and contrarily for *Don Iohns* part, of the ten parts of the agreement or compoſition, which wholly he ought to haue performed, he hath not diſcharged any one poynt thereof wel nor honeſtly as hee ought. And hereby you may ſee, with what juſtice and equitie we undertook this buſineſſe, and how we (having undertaken the ſame) haue dealt and proceeded therein.

For when the States perceived, that all their hope and truſt for the caſhiering of thoſe great numbers of the Germane ſouldiers was fruſtrate, and that they were laid in the cities, townes, and mouthes of the frontier garriſons, and that they kept *Namen* & *Charlemont*, being Cities and Caſtles that were very well provided; to the end that *Don Iohn* that way, might receiue and bring into the Netherlands that great armie which hee had deſired of the King in his letters; and moreover they perceiving that the hate and envy of all the ſouldiers was turned upon them, and that they with an exceeding greedy deſire longed for the pilaging of the greateſt Cities, And that they attended onely but for the leaſt ſigne and token of their Prince, to haue falne ravenouſly and furiouſly, as raging beaſts, and to haue ceized upon the liues, goods, and meanes of the Netherlanders. That *Don Iohn* himſelfe, and other naughtie people daily threatned the ruine and ſubverſion of our natiue conntrey. That they by the demonſtrations, hand-writings, mouthes and letters of their confederats, were themſelues convinced. That they all had agreed to ſet the cities and towns on fire, and to haue ſlain al the Nobles and chiefe of the Citizens, to haue deſtroyed the Netherlands, and to haue rooted out the Reipublick. Who is he then that would not be awaked and ſtirred up for the defence and preſervation of the common good? Who is he that with good counſel would not prevent the trecheries of *Iohn*? Who would be ſo unprovident, and

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ſuch a coward, that would not defend and maintaine his owne life with weapons and warre? Aſſuredly reaſon hath taught the learned; neceſſitie the Barbarians; cuſtome the heathens; and nature it ſelfe the unreaſonable beaſts, to repel violence with violence, even to their uttermoſt abilitie.

You your ſelues, O great and gracious Princes, which poſſeſſe kingdomes freely and in proſperitie; may eaſily know and underſtand this; and know alſo that even ſo it muſt be done. But what do I ſay, that you muſt know it? All the Spaniards our enemies do know it, and will freely confeſſe the ſame. For they demonſtrate it in their deeds, that the ſame hath been juſt, and is ſo yet. For conſidering that *Henricus Caſtellanus* (being a baſtard) and the great Grand-father of King *Philip*, did expel *Peter* his lawfull brother and right heire, out of the kingdome, becauſe he ſeemed to uſe tyrannical dealing: and becauſe he ſeemed to dominiere contrary to the lawes and cuſtomes of his kingdome; And, that King *Philip* upon the ſame conditions that he inherited Spaine, did inherit the Netherlauds, (viz. that he ſhould maintaine and religiouſly obſerue the lawes and cuſtomes.) Wherefore then may not we, as the Spaniards did reject *Peter*, even as wel reject *Philip* (who oppreſſeth his ſubjects with an unjuſt and unlawful government) and expel him with our armes for ever out of our Provinces.

But I feare, O Princes, that I haue too much abuſed your patience, and that my oration ſeemeth to haue run ſuch a courſe, that I need not adde any thing more thereunto. Yet I intreat your leaue, that you be pleaſed to ſuffer me, though very briefly to continue in that which *Philip* ſought to effect after the government of *Iohn*, by the deceit of an hypocritical and diſſembled peace; to the end that you may clearly ſee and perceiue, wherfore that we, ſo long as the world ſtands, may never make any peace with *Philip*, but now and for ever without ceaſing, are bound to warre againſt him. The very name of peace (I confeſſe) is exceeding ſweet, a peace that is good & ſound: But between peace and that bondage which is cloaked, covered, and falſly folded up in a concealed peace, is indeed a very great difference. Peace is a ſtil and quiet libertie: but that bondage, or all manner of feare thereof, is the extreame of all evils and miſchieues. Such was the peace, (if a man may call that peace) which induced, or ra-

ther ſeduced the Netherlanders even unto *Collen*.

When as the States by their Embaſſadours and letters unto you and your predeceſſors, *O all you Princes of Chriſtendome*, had againe intreated; that you by your authorities, reſpect, and exhortations, ſhould ratifie, eſtabliſh, confirme, and look unto that peace which *Philip* after a new couſening manner ſhould make, that the ſame ſhould not be deceitful: Like as he certainely and moſt maliciouſly by his deceit over-threw the ſame. For the Spaniards then made no delay, but preſently brought in new diſſentions into *Artois* and *Henegowe*, cauſing them to fall away from the other Provinces, over the which they even unto this preſent haue dominiered. Afterwards by force of Armes, violently they ſurpriſed *Maſtricht*, and moreover and aboue they, partly by violence, and partly by great promiſes, haue ſought to get into their power many other cities and provinces.

And finally is that *Vliſſes*-like-wit *Alexander Farneſius* Duke of *Parma*, brought out of *Italie*, who like unto a moſt craftie and cunning bird-catcher, with the ſong of his lenitie, and promiſes of great rewards, inſnared and captivated all the Cities and Townes of Brabant and Flaunders.

Of this Prince I could ſay very much, which I am conſtrained to omit: Yet this one matter I cannot paſſe by in ſilence; That, although in the time of his government he effected many things very great and eminent for *Philip*, yet could hee not eſcape of being ſuſpected, as if hee would haue undermined the King in the government, becauſe that through his gentleneſſe, lenitie and amitie; he had drawne unto him the affections of all the Netherlanders, and that he alſo ſeemed perſpicuouſly to haue looked into, and alſo to beare a hatred to the wickedneſſe and fraudulent treacheries and deceites of the Spaniards. Therefore *Philip* gaue him *fungos*, or Toads-bread to eate, which *Agrippina* had ſo commended to the Emperour, to the end that by the power and operation thereof, he might be admitted, counted and received into the number of the gods.

But I pray you, what was that at laſt for a peace, which as a Cometor bright ſhining ſtarre, ſhined unto us out of the firmament of the Spaniſh trecheries unto which the Duke of *Parma* counſelled

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us, at what time the Arch-enemy ſtood, as it were, over our heads, and that the incredible great Spaniſh Fleet filled and covered the great Ocean or main Sea? A Fleet which was ſo terrible to behold, that I can hardly judge, whether the Fleet that *Xerxes* had, which covered the Sea called *Mare Ponticum* had a greater number of Shippes, more Souldiers, or greater warlike preparation. With this Fleet *Phillip* had thought totally to haue ſuppreſſed us: who were at that time raviſhed, as it were, with that pleaſant and delightful ſound of peace. Yet when this Fleet, by the onely power of the Almighty God, was wonderfully deſtroyed and brought to naught; then preſently by the Emperours Embaſſadours he offered theſe Provinces a new Treatie of Peace, to the end, that he therby might tranſport all his Army and power of warre out of the *Netherlands* into *France*. The treacheries which many yeares before he had plotted againſt that Kingdom, beganne then to haue a wonderful good progreſſion: For his natural kinſman *Henry* being made away by paracide, (or his murthering of a kinſman,) and the ſtate of all that kingdome, being utterly confuſed with Civill warre; then the matter, and the preſent occaſion required, that he with Armes and a mighty Hoaſt, ſhould proſecute his deſigne, in that flouriſhing and famous great Kingdom of *France*, which Kingdom he by violence having taken in and conquered, he might therafter, without any trouble at all, haue ſubjugated thoſe Netherlandiſh Provinces, and all the other Kingdomes of Chriſtendom.

What? Is it yet lawful for me, or may I yet ſpeak any more of Arrereges, or reſidue of the dangers of this Reipublick? Yes, it is lawful for me, and it ſhal be lawful for me alwaies to ſtand for the dignity of my natiue Country, and to confeſſe the truth. Like as al good Orators, or eloquent ſpeakers, doe ever keep ſome of their moſt forcible and ponderous Arguments to the laſt. And like as experienced Generals uſe to place their beſt ſouldiers in the laſt rankes; even ſo *Phillip* in theſe latter yeares preſented a peace unto theſe *Netherlands*, which ſhould be adorned and confirmed with notable fidelity; the whole foundation and chiefe ground work therof, lay and conſiſted in the vertues, mercy, endevours, diligence, and in the loue of the Arch-duke *Erneſtus* his ſiſters ſonne; who, after the

Duke of *Parma*, was placed in the government of theſe Provinces: He promiſed theſe Provinces a peace; not ſuch a peace as ſhould be limited with any grievous or heavy conditions and contracts, like as the former was; but ſuch a peace as they themſelues would wiſh or deſire. In the mean time *Phillip* ſent his great and huge Armies into *France*, and his ſecret murtherers into *Holland*, to haue murthered the Illuſtrious Prince *Mauritts*, Earle of *Naſſow*, a famous and notable imitator of the vertues and valour of his father, and a ſingular defender of our Liberty; and by ſuch an odious and trecherous villainy, to haue made him away; like as they, but a little before, by a moſt cruel and trecherous hand, had murthered his moſt worthy and valiant father, the Prince of *Orange*.

And finally *Phillip* concluded many more miſchieuous, and more wicked purpoſes againſt theſe Provinces, then ever before he could haue bethought himſelfe of. I doe not ſpeak any thing unadviſedly, *ô Princes*, but that which thouſands beſides me of good reputation, can reſtifie in faith and verity, and that which *Phillips* own letters doe make good.

What then? Meaneth the king of *Spain*, that our States by any propoſitions of peace, can be diverted from their enterpriſes and deſignments? Doth he not yet know and underſtand, that all our affections are ſo obdurate and hardned, that we wil far rather yeeld and giue place to Armes and Warre, then to any kind of new inuented peace-treacheries, after what manner ſoever the ſame might be propounded? Or, thinketh he peradventure, that the affections of our States every day, lye open to his deſire and appetite? What? Is he yet ignorant, that the counſels of all our people, with a general conſent and uniformity of voices, are long agoe united and knit faſt together in this point; and that they wil farre rather honourably in warre and Armes liue and die, for their Lawes, and for their native Country; then from henceforth ſhamefully to ſinke or quaile, under his treacheries and deceits? What, doe I ſay ſinke or quaile? Nay, to come into the extremeſt evils of Tyrannie; to be bound with untolerable and inhumane bonds of ſlavery, and to be reckoned and accounted among thoſe ſlaues that are bought and ſold. We haue prepared, made ready and ſharpened, a perpetual and an everlaſting warre and Armes againſt him: we neither haue, nor may

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caſt our eies upon any other peace, then upon ſuch a peace as is grounded, confirmed, and may be maintained with force and Armes.

But in regard that a little before I beganne to ſpeak of *France*, and to proue that our warre partly was joyned with that ſame; therfore I will proceed to adde ſome other matters hereunto, by the which you may evidently ſee and perceiue, how many treacheries, traps and deceits that *Phillip* hath laid for them.

He hath a long time ſince, as you know, *ô Princes*, laboured and endevoured to aſſail *France*, with all the violence and force of his warre; to the end that he by the occaſion of the Civil diſſentions in *France*, might effect ſo much by his warres and charges: that if he could not ſwallow and devoure the whole Kingdom; yet that at the leaſt he might get a great part therof. For he had made his ful reckoning and account beforehand, by preparing of that cruel Fleet, that both *France* and *England* had been a prey unto their enemies: Wheras thoſe good Princes, notwithſtanding had nothing at all endamaged him, neither was he by any injuſtice provoked to that warre: unleſſe peradventure it be, that he thought this occaſion ſufficient; that the Pope, at the will and deſire of *Phillip* had excommunicated thoſe two flouriſhing Kingdoms, for their exerciſing and miniſtery of the Reformed Religion; who for the extirpation and eradication of that Religion; *Phillip* as a *Cato major*, with the puiſſance of the Romiſh Cenſores (or correction maſters) uſeth to haue regard unto all the Kings and people of the earth, and therfore to correct and puniſh them, which is indeed a matter known unto you all; for which no man can ſufficiently wonder at the ſhamefulneſſe thereof, and might now neither be paſſed by nor omitted. And that *Phillip* in theſe warres of France dealt moſt earneſtly, and with the greateſt diligence and alacrity, with the Duke of *Feros*, and other Spaniards of the League, whom he as companions, had aſſiſted in that warre, to haue eſtranged the Right and Title of the Crown of *France*, not onely from the ſucceſſion or deſcent of the Kings bloud and kinred, but even from all Frenchmen, and to haue drawn the ſame to *Spain*.

Theſe things are ſo certain, *ô Princes*, that there is no man which doubteth of the truth hereof. But to what end doe I bring theſe into

into your Remembrances; What is this to maintain the purpoſe I haue in hand; For this end it ſerueth; therby to proue how exceeding great the ambition is of this moſt cruel Tyrant; and to the end you may perceiue and ſee how greatly, not onely we, but euen all of you together, muſt keep good watch and look unto it. For like as the nature of the Vine, is to extend the branches, as the armes therof farre and wide, and therwith embraceth and layeth hold upon every thing that is neer it, if it be not lopt and pruned: Even ſo ſhal *Phillip*, if you doe not all at once make reſiſtance, at the laſt deſtroy and devoure all Chriſtendom, with moſt cruel and bloudy warre.

Moreover, he by his Bribery, and ſecret conſpiracy had lately effected ſo much in *Scotland*, that ſome of the chiefe of that Kingdom, ſhould haue received and taken in twenty thouſand Spaniards, if they had not been puniſhed (after the matter was known and revealed) according as their treaſon deſerved. I need not to think with my ſelfe, that I can ſufficiently expreſſe with words, what treaſons, what perils, what dangers, he, ſo oftentimes hath attempted againſt the Queen and Kingdom of *England*. Can ambition and violence proceed yet any further? Yes truely. For the like treacheries practiſed he a little before againſt the Principallity of *Collen*, the Dukedomes of *Gelders*, *Gulich*, *Cleaue*; the County of *Berghe*, and that ancient Emperial Town of *Aken*: All which is moſt manifeſtly and apparantly known by good Teſtimonie, and by his own letters. And who knoweth in what lurking hole and corner of hipocriſie and diſſimulation, he hideth and ſheltreth his moſt mortal hate againſt the moſt mighty Princes of *Italy*; whom (as ſoon as the wind of the firſt opportunity ſhal blow) very ſuddenly, ſhal be turned into coales and aſhes, by his unquenchable and fearful great flames of warre.

Doe ye not yet ſee and perceiue enough, *ô Princes*, what treacheries and deceits that *Phillip* prepareth, for your moſt happy Kingdomes and Provinces, which are your patrimony? Conſidering there is no man ſo blind nor ſenſeleſſe, who ſeeth not; and underſtandeth not that the ambition of *Phillip* never reſteth, but daily draweth him from land to land, and raiſeth a new warre out of war; So that he by warres, ſinne, miſchiefe, and meer villanous deceits

and

and treacheries, under the pretence of a ſeeming-peace, ſeeketh to deject and detrude every one of you from the ſeat of your Government. For this his deſire is unſatiable and immoderate, and cannot be included nor ſhut up, neither in Heaven nor in Earth. If that all *Phillips* Kingdoms which he uſeth commonly in that long train or taile of his moſt proud Titles and Termes of honour were put or laid into one of the Scales of *Critolaes* ballance, and in the other ſcoale his Ambition or greedy deſire of Honour; all his Kingdoms would ſcarcely weigh the quantity of one grain, in compariſon of his Ambition.

Alexander the Great looked about for more worlds, when he had conquered the whole world; but *Philip* would, if he could, with the Gyants aſſault the heavens. And therefore, *ô Princes*, and you *moſt peaceful Princes*, I intreat you, and I would admoniſh you, that you judge no more of the occaſion and lawfulneſſe of our warre; but in your judgments and opinions to hold it for good: and I exhort you moſt earneſtly again and againe, that you by all meanes, both in your underſtandings, and with all your powers, wil take heed of the treacheries, robberies, and miſchievous practiſes of *Phillips* deceits.

In former times, when as the *Athenians*, partly with warre, and partly with deceits and treacheries, ſought to get unto themſelues certain neer adjacent places, as the Cities of *Syracuſa*, *Lacedemon*, *Meſſena*, and *Catina*: they by their immoderate Ambition, and deſire of others Rights, drew ſuch an hatred upon their own heads, that *Darius* the moſt mighty King of *Perſia*, with the whole Country of *Grecia*, voluntarily undertook and proſecuted warre againſt them, unto which every man ran and haſted, as to quench a publick flame. But you, *ô moſt illuſtrious Princes*, ought long agoe to haue expelled *Phillip* (with your conjoyned forces from you, and from your proſperous States) that ſeeketh continually your liues and Kingdoms, by moſt unjuſt warre, and by moſt wicked enterpriſes.

And it concernes, and is fitting, not onely for you, who for a long time ſince, haue been provoked, ſpurred, and ſtirred up thereunto, by the many injuries and ambition of *Phillip*, but even you altogether, who ſee and perceiue, that he incroacheth with violence

upon the limits of your neighbours; and with an eaſie and ſlow pace creepeth and incroacheth towards your Countries. It ſtandeth you upon in time to look unto it; to the end, that your neighbouring Countries, being conquered and brought under his ſlavery and bondage; Tyrannie, when you leaſt think upon it, doe not incroach upon you.

When as *Phillip* of *Macedon*, the father of *Alexander* the Great, after the battel with the *Tribaldes*, had entertained a long diſſembling warre againſt the *Athenians*, the *Thebeans* aſſembled themſelues for this occaſion; fearing, leſt when the *Athenians* had been conquered, the fire of their neighbouring-warre might haue flown unto them. And a little before, there being a confederacie made betwixt two of the mightieſt Cities; who, before had been at extreme enmity with each other, terrified therby, and by their Embaſſadours, all the Country of *Grecia*: eſteeming it ſo, that a common enemy ought and muſt be repelled with common force; ſo that if the firſt invaſion of *Phillip* of *Macedon*, had had good ſucceſſe; he would not haue held up, nor reſted until he had conquered and ſubjugated the whole country of *Grecia*. The *Romanes* in former time, perceiving that the power of the *Carthaginians* increaſed and grew great, they had an eſpecial care that the *Carthagenians* ſhould not grow ſo great as to over-maſter them: And for that end they ſent their ſouldiers to relieue the *Mamertines* from the beleagring, and to relieue *Spain* from the ſervitude of the *Africanes*.

Although that the *Venetians* are not very lightly incited to warre, but when the matter of neceſſity conſtrayneth them: Yet they never refuſed to ſend their warlike power for the ſuccour of others that were under them, when they perceived that their neighbours contended with each other, with an unreaſonable and an immoderate-violent ambition.

Theſe, and the like, even to an innumerable examples (or foredeeds) doe teach you, how carefully you muſt take heed of that moſt peſtilent evil, of the Spaniſh ambition; and doe ſhew; or proue, that it is a righteous and juſt cauſe, that even all of you with one conſent with us, proſecute a warre againſt that Tyrant.

For our States doe know, that the occaſion of their warre againſt *Phillip*, is not onely exceeding juſt and righteous, and ever was:

but

but alſo, that they at no time, now nor never, may ceaſe their warre, that they may make no peace with *Phillip*, but alwaies muſt maintain warre againſt that Tyrant. For we are taught by our friends, how we muſt take heed of our enemies: For if *Phillip* doe gape and long ſo earneſtly, and with ſuch diligence for your Kingdomes; like as you ſee he daily doth: how then ſhal we ſpeed? For aſſured y he wil never lay aſide Armes before that he hath ſubjugated all the *Netherlands* under him, becauſe it is a Countrey ſo fit for his purpoſe; who, out of them may attempt many enterpriſes upon your Kingdoms, and daily may beginne to raiſe new warres againſt you, and draw out of them Souldiers, Armes, and all manner of warlike proviſion againſt your adjacent Countries. And therfore he would farre rather caſt the greateſt part of Chriſtendome for a prey to the *Turke*; then to ceaſe theſe warres.

At the laſt Parlement in *Germany*, he would not conſent to furniſh the Emperor with any ſouldiers, nor aſſiſtance againſt the *Turke*; and the reaſon was, becauſe he might the better vex Chriſtendom with warre.

Doe ye yet doubt of this, *ô yee Princes*, which you your ſelues haue ſeen, that *Phillip* in the beginning of our Civil Commotions, had far rather looſe two Kingdoms, *Tunis* and *Goulet*, which the *Turkes*, under their General *Sinam Baſcha*, then recovered from him, then that he would for a while ceaſe his warres with us; or would remoue his Souldiers out of theſe Provinces, againſt the moſt deadly and mortal enemy of all Chriſtendome.

And you know how many Souldiers, how much Armes, and what charges *Phillip* hath been at, and waſted, to maintain this warre againſt us: So that if you would but reckon up the ſame, you ſhal find that he might haue bought and purchaſed two *Netherlands* with that money: although notwithſtanding they be very great, rich, and exceeding copious. So that there is no doubt of this, but *Phillip* would far rather endure the greateſt loſſe that might betyde him then that he would leaue *Belgium* without *bellum*, or the Low-countries without long-encountrings of warre, without ſtrife, without ſouldiers, that they might liue in peace and quietneſſe, freely and wholly according to their Lawes and Priviledges. For by this war, and with the conqueſt of our Provinces, he wil lay and eſtabliſh the ſtrongeſt

geſt foundation and ſureſt ground-work of his Monarchy, Sole-dominion, Tyrannie, and cruel Government. For when he ſaw and perceived that theſe Countries were ſo ſingularly fitting for his cruel treacheries and deſignments, and that our Lawes and Liberties contrarily did wholy oppoſe the ſame: therfore ſought he firſt of all with warre, with force and violence, to pluck up, teare in ſunder, and with violence to oppreſſe the ſame, to the end, that his ſubjects of other Kingdoms, which at this preſent he hath ſubjugated, or elſe might ſubjugate hereafter; from this our concording, and generall defence of our Lawes and Liberty, might take no example or inſtance, with the greater courage and alacrity to ſtand for, and maintain their liberty.

What doe you then judge, *ô you moſt peaceful Princes?* Or, what is your concluſion that our States ought to doe, who chiefly ſeek for the common good of their natiue Countrey? Verely it cannot be with them, as it is under the Government of a cruel Tyrant, and as it uſually is in ill-governed Reipublicks: they are not uſed to be lead, and to ſubmit themſelues at any time, with cap and knee, as flatterers doe; to the wills, deſires, and luſts of their ſuperiour Lords, nor to be dealt with all as hired ſlaues? conſidering that they never would admit nor ſuffer, that their Lawes, Liberties, nor their Reipublick, ſhould bow or ſubmit under the yoke of unjuſt and unlawful Government: But haue as good fathers of their natiue-Countrey; as good fighters for their freedom, and Defendors of their Lawes, (like as it muſt be in a Reipublick which is moderately and civilly governed by their Prince) directed their deſignes, wils, and government of their ſuperiour Lord; according to their Lawes, and the preſervation of their Liberty.

Do you think that the Spaniards ſhal ſpoyle and cruelly vexe and torment our Reipublick; and that we with ſhame wil leaue and quit the ſame? Shal we neglect our deare countrey and libertie? Muſt we deſpiſe the lawes of our predeceſſors? And ſhall they pervert & turn topſie-turvie our civil orders and policie into tyranny? And ſhal we with wringing hands look upon the coarſe, and behold the exequies or funerall of our *patriæ* and natiue countrey? Shal they rend & teare in peeces the body of our common-wealth, and like moſt ravenous

beaſts

beaſts devoure the ſame? And ſhal we like ſlaues, with praying and intreating, hardly preſerue our own liues, goods, and meanes? Or do ye not far rather laud and extol with the higheſt commendation of honor, this wil & affection of our States, for their manumiſing and preſerving of their deare and natiue countrey? Ineite and exhort you them to proceed as they are beſt able, and to the uttermoſt of their powers, for the preſervation and manumiſing of their owne liues & libertie? Come not theſe things daily into your remembrances, when you think of the Netherlandiſh warre, or diſcourſe thereof, which I haue now demonſtrated, and with ſure and infallible and uncontrollable reaſons proved unto you, viz. that our States, & all the Netherders, being drenched and ſoaked in miſery, and oppreſſed with the cruelties of the Spaniards; and being expeld out of their natiue countrey, of mere neceſſitie were conſtrained to take Arms againſt *Philip*. And that now all the other treacheries, infidelities & injuries which the Spaniards during the time of theſe wars haue done unto the Netherlanders, being ſo great, ſo inhumane, and ſo incredible, that they themſelues (ſo to ſpeak) do earneſtly exhort, do require & command, that the States with a conſtant courage, ſhould keep and maintaine their armes, and neither now, nor never, to lay them out of their hands; but to ſhew unto the other ſubjects of *Philip* (thoſe of *Sicilia*, *Calabria*, *Lombardie*, *Arragon*, *Caſtile*, *India* and *Portugal*) yea even unto your ſelues, *O illuſtrious Princes*, I ſay to ſhew, & with valiant deeds to proue, that not onely we, but all of you together, yea and all men upon the face of the earth, far rather ought to dye, then to behold or look upon the face of that tyrant.

Do ye yet think, or can you imagine with your ſelues, that *Philip*, with the limits of our countrey, hath limited in his tyranny? Do yee not yet ſee and perceiue, that the high aſcending and mortal flames of the Spaniſh tyranny, devoureth and ſwalloweth up the treſholds, doores, and turrets of your kingdomes? Ariſe and at the laſt awake out of this your ſleepe and careleſneſſe; come hither with ſpeed, and in all haſte flye hereinto, for to quench theſe univerſall fire-flames. Wherefore doe yee ſeek unto us againſt our wils, by your counſels, authorities, and reſpects, to induce us to make peace with *Philip*; whereas it had been more fitting, that you your ſelues long agoe, with warre and force of armes ſhould haue expelled *Philip*, and

with an eſpecial force and power to haue ſuppreſt him?

And to the end I may ſpeak unto you all one after another, you *moſt mightie Princes of Germanie*, be ſencible, that *Philip* in your Dutchland doth not hunt after a cruel and unjuſt government; but (ſo to ſpeak) doth poſſeſſe the ſame already. For he having once conquered theſe Netherlandiſh provinces; when you will not bow and ſubmit to his government: he will haue all the havens of the ſea, and the mouthes of all the Germane rivers at his owne will, and in his owne power; thereby afterwards to impoſe ſuch grievous tolles and taxations upon your navigation and trading, or elſe wholly wil hinder the ſame, even as it ſhall pleaſe himſelfe. And this is that for which, and in behalfe whereof, one or two of the provinces doe appeare in your aſſemblies and conſultations: you heare him publickly ſpeak his minde, and you eſteeme and preferre his tyrannical advice and counſel, before your owne proſperitie and tranquiltie. You haue him, the Biſhop of *Friſinghen* and *Hildeſhem* preferred before; and you haue ſeene them made Princes and Prince-Electors of the Empire; The Biſhop of *Collen*, *Liege*, and *Magdeborgh*: and you haue ſeen that the moſt ambitious Duke of *Bavaria* hath laid ſnares for you all.

And to the end that I may turne my ſpeech unto you, *O you illuſtrious and mightie powerful Princes of Poland*, hath not *Philip* brought a great number of that generation of mankind, (I ſay leſu ts) into your Countrey, by whoſe religion and policie they haue brought almoſt the whole world into an up-rore, to the end that he by their meanes, with Sun-ſhine-like deceits, might propound unto you what his will and counſel is.

To you alſo, *moſt peacefull Princes of Italie*, I haue already ſayd, and ſay againe, that the ſword of the Spaniſh tyranny hangeth by a very ſmall threed over your heads, already naked and drawne out of the ſcabberd.

And for you, *O moſt illuſtrious Senators (or privie Counſellors) of Venice*, you your ſelues haue ſeen and beheld the tyranny of *Philip* in your owne State and government, when he ſent money to arme the Turke againſt you; and diverted the power and force of the Turk from his owne dominions upon *Cypris*; although that he by the equitie and right of the covenant, had been exceedingly obliged

ged and beholding unto you.

Therefore *O Princes of Chriſtendome*, yet even now, at the long-laſt, be carefull of your owne eſtates and affaires, of your owne liues and proſperitie; mark and conſider it wel, that *Philip* is enemy and tyrant to you all, and ſuffer him to liue no longer in the world: but reſiſt and impeach his ambition to reigne; and that his peſtilent and mortal government proceed no further. And like as ſome certaine members are cut off when they begin to be without life and bloud, and are hurtful to all the other parts of the body; even ſo muſt you alſo eſteeme, that this inhumane cruelty in humane ſhape, muſt (ſo to ſpeak) be ſeparated and cut from the common body of men. Verily the deed of the Perſians is much to be commended, and ought to be wel thought upon of you all; who when *Cometes* and *Oropaſtes*, two of their Magicians (or wiſe men) by the like tyrannie and murther of *Smerdis*, king of Perſia, poſſeſſed the kingdome: they were ſlaine by the valour of ſeven of the ableſt Princes of Perſia, all of them running with a ſingular affection, diligence, and burning zeale to kill and to deſtroy thoſe tyrants with their ſwords, one of the Magitians claſped about the neck of one of the Princes whoſe name was *Gobrias*, which made his companions to linger the more, becauſe they would not kill him in ſteed of the magician (for this was done in a dark place) who commanded the Magician to thruſt his ſword through his body. Yet in the end the Magician was ſlaine, and this valiant *Gobrias* (who had rather to haue died, then that the tyrant ſhould haue eſcaped with life) was ſaved, and had his life preſerved. Such an hate did theſe men beare to tyrants.

The Grecians in former times attributed divine honour to thoſe men who had ſlaine a tyrant. And doe you thinke that the Netherlanders ſhal doe evil, or more unjuſt, that they oppoſe and reſiſt *Philip* that inhumane tyrant.

The Romanes expelled their king *Tarquinus Superbus*, becauſe that he, did but in ſome ſort weaken the ſtate of their common-wealth; and ſhal we ſuffer or indure *Philip* in our common-wealth, who not onely with fire and ſword would deſtroy and turn-up-ſide-downe all the Netherlands, but even the whole world? No, by no meanes. Our States without doubt, wil proceed and prepare the way for you to breake off, and to expel this tyrant. They wil perſevere

to divert, driue away, and to foile him ſo farre and wide from ſuppreſſing and killing of our proſperitie, that once, not onely they and theirs, but alſo even the other prouinces of the Netherlands, may be re-eſtabliſhed in their former libertie, and may lead them out of the ſtraights of the Spaniſh tyrannie, and repoſſeſſe them in the poſſeſſion of their predeceſſors. That finally, they being re-eſtabliſhed, and better ordered, and united and bound with the Prouinces of the whole Netherlands; they may ſtop the incurſion and inuaſion of this cruel tyrant, and altogether with one accord may expel him from their proſperitie, and from their common libertie. *Amen.*

O Thou moſt high God, which guideſt and gouerneſt the heauen, the ſea, the earth, warre and peace: Thou which giueſt lawes and commandements to kings Princes, and to all people upon the earth: Thou that appointeſt and giueſt conqueſts, triumphs, and trophies, the ſignes of victory: Thou which doeſt hinder and divert overthhrowes, dangers, and all unjuſt dealing: Ariſe, O thou great God, and oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt the enemy of all juſtice and peace; againſt the enemy of thy praiſe and honour. We beſeech thee, that with thy providence and wiſdome thou wilt order our indevours, and relieue thy people, that thy moſt holy name may be adored and honored with all perfect piety and true religion. Amen.

FINIS.

6.

AN ADIOYNDER OF SVNDRY OTHER PARTICVLAR WICKED PLOTS

and cruel, inhumane, perfidious; yea, unnaturall practises of the Spaniards:

CHIEFLY

AGAINST THE SEVENTEEN PROvinces of the *Netherlands*; yea, before they took up Armes.

GATHERED

AND TRANSLATED OVT OF Severall Dutch Writers, as that Revered Divine *Guhelmus Baudaitius*, in his *Morghen Wecker*, and *Emanuel de Miter*, by *S. O.* a lover of truth and equity, and an unfeigned hater of oppression and tyrannie, *the bane of Common-wealths.*

EXOD. 1. 8. 9. 10.

The new King over Egypt said unto his people, concerning the Israelites, Gods people; *Come on let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply.*

PSALM. 2. 4. 5.

He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.

Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure.

Printed, Anno 1624.

To the wel-affected indifferent Reader.

GEntle Reader, there being ſo much ſpoken as thou maiſt perceiue, by the fore-going Treatiſe, touching the cruel, inhumane, treacherous, perfidious; yea, unnatural practiſes of the *Spaniards*, in theſe parts, and elſewhere, which may ſufficiently delineate him in his deſerved colours, that whoſoever beholds him may mourn to ſee this *Hazael* ſo to tyrannize over the innocent, and that the Lord ſhould permit, and the earth bear ſuch an unheard of monſter; yet notwithſtanding much more might be added in ſundry other particulars, as the Dutch Chronicles mention, and other Writers haue well ſet out: amongſt which, although I my ſelfe be a ſtranger by Nation to them; yet ſince the time of my abode here, having attained ſome underſtanding in the Language, I haue thought fit to adde ſome further particulars, which in my reading I haue obſerved, and could adde many more; but my purpoſe being onely to annex a few things, I wil not enlarge, leſt I adde another Treatiſe.. But before I come to what I intend, I haue thought fit having ſome overſight in the publiſhing of this Treatiſe aforegoing, to note by the way, the ill tranſlating of one word, in the 21 folio, it is touching the Princeſſe of *Parma*, the Tranſlator termes her *a crafty Queane*, wheras the word beares no ſuch ſence in the Dutch, but ſignifies one that hath a ſharp wit to deceiue, as is ſaid of the ſerpent that beguiled *Eue*. Beſide, that that is tranſlated *Embaſſadour*, ſpeaking of ſuch as were ſent from the States to the King, I conceiue to be more fittingly rendred *Meſſenger*.

The Dutch word Ghesante *ſignifieth in a different* Embaſſadour *or* Meſſenger.

Firſt, thou art to underſtand, gentle Reader, that the King of *Spain* was lovingly received here in the 17 Provinces, and a ſolemn oath was taken on both parts; the King for his part ſwore to maintain all their Lawes and Priviledges, and they to him all due homage and allegance: He preſently demanded of them a ſumme of money. wherupon the States did aſſemble, and collected for him 40

millions of Florines, of *Brabants* mony, to be paid in nine years, and they paid it into his Exchequer; and although it was more then they had paid before to his predeceſſours, yet upon this he did take great diſpleaſure againſt them; and, as they write, he for this did hate them to death.

But he pretended this to be the cauſe of his wroth, becauſe he ſaw that there were ſome among them, that did deſie the Pope and all his Religion: but that could not be, for the Citie of *Aeiſt* was as ſuperſtitious in that Religion as *Rome* it ſelfe; for they did perſecute the Reformed Religion even unto death: and yet for all that both they, and 170 far villages that belonged unto them, were by them plundered and ſpoyled of all their goods, and many of them wounded and tormented for to confeſſe where their mony was, and many were killed. Thus much by the way.

My ſcope and chiefe intent, is to ſhew the firſt and juſt cauſe of the warres in the *Netherlands*; wherby the diligent Reader (not partially affected) may clearly underſtand, that the *Netherlanders* did not rebelliouſly take up Armes againſt a lawful Prince, (as ſome ignorantly thinke and ſpeake) but juſtly and religiouſly defend themſelues againſt a perfidious Tyrant who ſought their ruine, by all poſſible meanes he could, and the ſubverſion of the whole State. A long while they patiently underwent his cruel oppreſſions, and intollerable vexations, as the Hiſtories clearly manifeſt; til there was no hope, but either they muſt become ſlaues in ſoule and body, worſe then that of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, they and theirs for ever, or elſe be butchered by mercileſſe executioners of a cruel Tyrant. This Tyrant having a purpoſe to innovate all things, to root out the ancient inhabitants, and to fruſtrate all the Lawes, Cuſtomes and Priviledges which himſelfe had ſworn to maintain, knew not how better to effect his evil ends, then by rayſing a bloudy Inquiſition to ſet over them for their government; which ſaid Inquiſition (raiſed in *Spain*) concluded and pronounced certain Articles, the tenth of February 1568, which were confirmed by the King, the 26 following. Now becauſe it may appear I doe them no wrong in this charge, I wil lay down the Articles themſelues verbatim.

The inquiſition was there 4. yeares before.

The moſt ſacred Office of Inquiſition ſo often attempted in the Netherlands by his Majeſtie, and hindered untill this time, ſhall bee

inſtituted and advanced in this manner, which is moſt expedient.

1 They muſt perſwade the Emperour, being gone aſtray, and wickedly confederated with heretikes, that hee reſigne his kingdomes unto his Sonne, with the whole adminiſtration of the Netherlands.

2 That the Emperour with his two ſiſters, having given over all affaires, leaving the Netherlands, ſhall retire into Spaine unto Vs, being aſſured that they ſhall never returne more to doe any harme.

3 Theſe being diſpatcht, we muſt alſo draw the king to us, & keep him for ever that he part not, and not ſuffer any Flemmings to haue acceſſe or conference with him.

4 That the King write unto, and command the Clergie of the Netherlands, that with the Inquiſition they ſhould accept of 15 new Biſhops, the which ſhould be free from all ſecular juriſdiction, yea in caſes of treaſon.

5 The ſubjects of the Netherlands through their malice & waywardneſſe, will revolt and moue ſeditions and tumults, pleaſing to all but to our companie.

6 The Princes and Noblemen, heads and authours of thoſe factions, with the ſubjects, muſt be taken away, and the others reduced unto reaſon.

7 They ſhall hire at our charge theeues and ſpoilers of Churches and Images, whoſe offences ſhall be by all the world imputed to Rebels, by ſome ſubtill meanes, and ſo we ſhall vanquiſh them.

8 That all Comerce, Negotiation, Liberties, and Privileges, ſhall be rooted out, and that all be reduced to extreame povertie, whereby the realme ſhall be permanent for Vs.

9 No man of all thoſe Countries (except he be of our faction) ſhall be held worthy to liue; and finally all to be rooted out: and all Goods, Poſſeſſions, Arts, and Trades, and all Orders to bee taken away, untill there may bee a new Realme, and a new people.

10 In this action the wiſe and valiant Duke *Alva* ſhal be imployed in perſon; whereas any other, were he of the blood Royall, or a Prince, ſhall be of no eſteeme: ſo as being ſuſpect, yea in the ſmalleſt matters, they muſt be diſpatcht.

11 No Contracts, Rights, Promises, Donations, Oathes, Priviledges, and solemne Assertions of the Netherlands, shall bee of any force for the inhabitants, as being guiltie of high treason.

12 But aboue al we must haue an especial care that in these matters of so great weight and moment, wee proceed not violently, but by meanes, by degrees, and that discreetly, to the end the Princes, Nobilitie, and inferiour subjects may mutinie amongst themselues, so that one may persecute, yea execute the other until at last the hangman be executed himselfe. For in all Christendome is there not a Nation more foolish and indiscreet, and whose levitie and inconstancie may sooner be deceived then these Netherlanders, and God punisheth them accordingly.

There were other Articles found in President *Vergaes* chamber at *Antwerpe*, and there Printed; and those are more cruel then these.

By these articles and unlimited power of these lawlesse Inquisitors, no man had any assurance of life or goods for a day, but were in danger continually to be called into question, either for the law of their God, or for some work of mercie, which either religion, moral equitie, or the bond of nature called for: or else if they had colour for none of these, they would impose such unreasonable taxations, which if the Cormorants had not their gorges crambed full, they would make prey of all, whether by right or wrong it mattered not. But my purpose being to avoyd prolixitie, and to passe by impertinencies and needlesse repetitions, I wil come to that I intended. In the yeare 1565 a match was concluded for the Prince of *Parma*, and the nuptials were solemnized at *Bruxels*, whither all the Nobilitie and Gentry of the countrey were invited, and accordingly there met of them about foure hundred, who like faithfull *Moses* being grieved to see the daily oppression of their brethren by the hard task-masters of the Inquisition, who not onely robbed them of their goods, but also by inhumane cruelty, and unnaturall butchery, deprived them of their liues, who daily led them as sheepe unto the slaughter: The consideration hereof they joyntly layd to heart, and hereupon (being met upon this occasion) they resolved to present a petition to the Princesse of *Parma*, which they did the 5 of April next

next following. The Earle of Breedrod delivering the petition, humbly requeſted a favourable anſwer. Three dayes after they received this anſwer, viz. they ſhould ſend two of their Noblemen to the king, by whom ſhe would write in their behalfe. The Lord of Barlaymont being preſent, after their departure ſayd *(like a flattering Courtier)* they were a company of Raſcals and Beggars.

It was concluded that the Marqueſſe of Bargen, and the Lord of Mountigny ſhould goe into Spain, who humbly preſented their ſuite to the King, but could get no anſwer in 16 monthes after.

The 26 of Auguſt *anno 1566*, the Princeſſe of *Parma* ſent for the Gentrie, telling them ſhe had received letters from the King, containing promiſe that all ſhould be well, and that the Inquiſition ſhould ceaſe. And for the Proclamations they ſhould not be of force, but his Majeſtie would take ſuch order as they and the State ſhould wel like of. The Princeſſe alſo gaue them toleration for their Religion, on condition they ſhould not deface, nor break downe the ornaments of the Churches: for, there had been before this time vilde and lewd perſons that frequented the meetings of the Reformed; theſe went into the Papiſts Churches, ſtole their ſilver and what was worth carrying away, and brake down their Images: but the Reformed ſuſpected that this was done by the appointment of the Princeſſe; neither was their ſuſpicion without good ground, for it is to beſeen in the Kings letters, *Art.* 7, that ſhe had order to hire this raskal company to doe this villany, which fact was imputed to the Proteſtants, to the end that they might not onely be odious there, but alſo ſeem guilty, even in the judgment of other Nations; howbeit the offenders were puniſhed with impriſonment, yea, with death, even by the Reformed themſelues, who jointly confeſſed the action unlawful, and were ſo farre from giving occaſion of offence in this nature, that Papiſt Burgers themſelues offered good ſecurity that no ſuch thing ſhould be attempted by them. Who then can make any doubt that they were free from having any hand in thoſe outrages laid to them, the very oppoſites in Religion being Iudges, who as appeares were willing to undertake for them; now as their faithfulneſſe brought ſo good effect for their perſons, ſo did the Lord worke that the truth of Religion found many friends likewiſe, the Lord wondrouſly proſpering the courſe of Reformation, in ſo much

Emanuel de Mitter ſayth, that in Flanders they took 50 of them at one time, and hanged 22 and whipped the reſt.

much that in ſhort ſpace they had in *Flanders* 60 Aſſemblies, ſome Churches they themſelues builded, but were by Duke *d'Alva* ſoon caſt down, who erected gallowſes of them, and hanged them upon them.

The Princeſſe of *Parma* alſo began to entertain ſouldiers with pretence to apprehend the Church-robbers, but intended indeed to take away the ancient Liberties and Priviledges of the *Netherlanders*, wherfore ſending certain companies to *Valencyn*, the inhabitants denyed them entertainment, who for that were proclaimed Rebels the 14 of December, ſoon after they were beſieged, ſacked, and many of them put to death.

He pretended it for religion, but his ame was to get their lands and goods.

But before they of *Valencyn* denyed entertainment to the ſouldiers, the Nobility had received letters out of *Spain*, from the Marqueſſe of *Bargen*, ſhewing, that the King was exceedingly incenſed againſt the *Netherlanders*, that he had in the preſence of many vowed to be fully revenged of them, though it were with the hazard of all his Countries; that he would make them an example to all the world, and would invite the Pope and Emperour to aſſiſt him in this quarrel. Vpon the receit of the letters the Nobility aſſembled at *Dortmond* to conſult what were beſt to be done, but concluded not any thing, ſome judging it ſafeſt to joyn, and make head to reſiſt his tyrannical furie, other ſeeking rather to eſcape by flight.

Now was the Inquiſition again brought in contrary to the Lawes and Liberties of the Country, which the King was ſworn to maintain, for execution wherof there were appointed 12 Inquiſitors, commanding them to receiue the Councel of *Trent*, theſe were called, *The bloudy Councel*, and ſo they were indeed, which *Rome* well knew, refuſing it, *anno 1559*, when as they fel upon the Inquiſitors houſe, ſet it on fire, wounded the chiefe of them, brake open the priſon, and ſet at liberty the captiues, and would haue burned a Cloyſter that belonged unto them, had they not been by fair means diſſwaded by two Lords in the Citie, *viz.*, *Marc. Antonio Columna*, and *Iulio Cæſar*.

Likewiſe *Venice*, *Naples* and *Millain*, though they be Papiſts, would not ſuffer it; the Marchants of *Lisbon* who are as ſuperſtitious in the Romiſh Religion as any in the world, yet they did offer

the

the King two millions and a half, that they might not haue it in their parts.

Yet the cruelty of this Inquiſition did here increaſe, and many ſouldiers came into the countrey, that ſome of the countrey forſook their houſes, and reſorted towards Freezland, and ſome did ſtay at home, and went to meet Duke *Alva*, and welcomed him into the Countrey, and ſhewed him all the kindneſſe they could, but he very ſhortly took off moſt of their heads, ſo that he did ſo terrifie the inhabitants, that there fled out of the countries more then an hundred thouſand houſſoulders, beſides many that were taken in flying, were taken and hanged, and all theſe had their goods confiſcated to the King.

At the Orde of Egmond, & the Grae of Horn, and many of the Gentry at Bruſſels, 1568.

The Prince of Orange, and the Earle of Bredrod, and fiue Earles, eight Lords, and ſo Gentlemen, and they had ſome fiue thouſand of Souldiers being in Freeſland, but were moſt over-throwne by the Duke of *Alva* his forces; ſo that they were driven to Embden land, and there prepared themſelues to the ſea.

Now the Duke of *Alva* did command all the inhabitants to pay the hundreth peny of all their goods, and of all that was bought and ſold; the which ſome of the States did yeeld unto: And then he commanded them to pay the twentith peny: and then hee commanded the tenth peny of all things that were bought and ſold, ſo often as they ſhould be ſold. Some of the States did make their humble petition to the Duke, and to the Princes, ſhewing them that it would driue all trading out of the land. The Duke of *Alva* told them that he would haue it, though it did ruinate al the land; but if he ſaw them to doe their beſt to pay it, he would deale favourably with them. But he ſayd that it was againſt the kings honour if they ſhould not pay it, ſeeing it was his pleaſure to require it. And now did the Inquiſition impriſon and execute many of the richer ſort, as wel Papiſts as of the reformed Church: and if they were rich there was no eſcaping for them. And whoſoever was found to haue any hand in way of ſuit and petition to haue the tenth peny to be remitted, they were adiudged to haue committed high treaſon againſt God and the King; and all theſe muſt forfeit life and goods to the king, and not any of their children to enjoy one peny worth of the ſame: but (poore Orphanes) they muſt begge their

All the priſons were filled, inſomuch as they were forced to prepare more, and filled them alſo.

bread. And ſome that had been buried certaine months, they cauſed them to be digged up, and hanged on the gallowes, and ſome to be burned, becauſe they had not the ſacrament, and confeſſed before their death; but it was becauſe he would confiſcate their goods to the king: yea when theſe inſatiable gold-thirſty and blood-thirſty wretches wanted colour to cover their injuſtice and cruelty, they had their officious imps (falſe witneſſes) ſuborned by *Iesabel*, to get *Nabothes* vineyard; witneſſe *Martin Hutton*, who was one of the Inquiſitors Clarkes, and (being committed to priſon) did acknowledge that hee had made many falſe teſtimonies against ſundry rich perſons, ſome whereof were of the reformed Church. Here might fitly be brought in the hundred Marchants of *Granado*, who were of the Romane Religion, and were never other; what pretence had he to cauſe them to bee murthered all in one night, and then preſently to command all their goods to be brought to his treaſurie or Exchequer, whoſe eſtate was worth more then 28 hundred thouſand pound ſterling? Now as this tyrant was a devourer and deſtroyer of the liues of men, ſo did hee preſume to uſurpe further not onely upon civil ordinances, but upon the things of God; ſo that thoſe that were married in the reformed Church, he forced to be married againe: and if they were rich, hee tooke them from their husbands, and gaue them to his ſouldiers to make prize of them. Thoſe that were baptized in the reformed Church, he compelled to be baptized againe, contrary to Gods word, and to the decree of the ancient councels, ſo that intolerable were the burthens this cruel *Pharoh* layd, ſo exceſſiue was his cruelty, that he filled all places with blood, *blond touching blond*, as the Prophet ſpeaks. For in ſmal townes hee executed 50, and in great townes 200, and 300 or 400. And in places as men travelled from one towne to another, they might ſee many that his ſouldiers had hung up in trees to death, and ſome were worth 80 thouſand guldens, and ſome leſſe: yea this tyrant did confiſcate ſo much lands and goods, as by his account ſent into Spain, did amount yearly to 8 tun of mony ſterling, beſides the many thouſands that he and his ſouldiers had. All the money that he did exact out of this land in 6 yeares, did amount (to more then 50 millions of gold. And if any were knowne to haue any thing that did belong to any that were put to

death,

death, and had not brought it to the knowledge of the Inquisition, they did loose both life and goods: yea the 16 of February 1566 he gaue sentence in his court at *Madrill*, that they were all traytors against God and himselfe. At Vtrecht he beheaded a widow that was 84 yeares old, because she had before lodged a preacher one night, whose living was worth foure thousand guldens yearly. And at Mastricht a father for lodging his son that he had not seene in a long time, that was fled for religion, was put to death. And at that place there was one put to death for giving a widow a peck of corn for an almes, whose husband this bloody court had put to death. And many women were put to death, because they received their husbands in the night that were fled for religion; yea they haue killed women great with child, and ripped up their bellies, and taken out the child and killed it: and some they haue fleyed aliue, and couered drummes heads with their skins, and some they haue tyed to a post, and made a small fire round about them, and so rosted them to death.

The like cruelty they did at Oudwater

At Naerden they received the Spaniards friendly into the towne, who promised them both their liues and goods; and as soone as they came in, they commanded them to come to the State-house without their Armes, the which they did, and the Spaniards gaue fire upon them and murthered them all: and then they ran about in the town, and rauished the women, and after killed them, and fired the towne. The yong children that lay in the cradle, they quartered them, and took them upon their pikes, and so went up and downe the towne, rejoycing in their crueltie.

Such sauage cruelty is scarcely to be found in any History, what Christian heart can hear it, and not be affected with deep sorrow, yet behold some monsters herein haue been found, that haue been so farre from humanity herein, (for he that hath humanity in him will commiserate others calamities) that they haue applauded it, as if he had in all these outrages done God good service. Amongst the rest, I shall content my selfe at present, but to name the holy father the Pope, and one of his chiefe sonnes in this businesse. The Pope sends his Legate to commend these so rare exploits, and cals this cruell Duke *Alua* his beloved son, sends him a costly sword, the hilts wherof were of gold, and a hat wrought with gold, and beset with rich and costly stones, thanking him for

his good ſervice in maintaining the Romiſh Religion, and ſubverting of hereticks. Howbeit that his chiefe ſon I mentioned (exceeding this man of ſin, in the ſin of cruelty, as if he would verifie himſelfe to be ten fold more the child of Satan, then his father the Pope) thinkes not ſo well of it, his name is *Vergas*, the Preſident of this bloudy Inquiſition; for going ſhortly after into *Spain*, he told the King, that he and Duke *d'Alva*, did marre all in the *Netherlands*, by ſhewing ſo much mercy to thoſe people.

Concerning this Duke *d'Alva*, of whoſe outrage and cruelty ſo many haue felt, and perfiduous dealing which many haue found by lamentable experience, wherby may eaſily appeare of what ſtamp his exceſſiue mercies are, even ſuch as the Wiſeman ſpeakes of, *Pro. 12.10, the tender-mercies of the wicked are cruel.* In which he prides himſelfe, boaſting he had ſlaughtered eighteen thouſand and ſix hundred, in form of juſtice, in ſix yeares times, and ten times ſo many he and his Souldiers murthered otherwaies. And many more would he doubtleſſe haue murthered, had not the Lord reſtrayned and limited him, for his deſire herein was as hell, that cannot be ſatisfied: Witneſſe the purpoſe of his proceeding againſt the Magiſtrates of *Bruxels*, becauſe they did not collect the tenth peny ſo as he deſired. He ſware that he would haue it, and before he would let it fall or remit it, the Sunne and Moone ſhould leaue their ſhining, ſo he went to Bruſſels, and commanded the executioner to prepare ladders and ropes to hang up that night in their doores 70 of the citizens, and gaue them his warrant in writing what they ſhould be: But God in his prouidence prevented this his cruel purpoſe, in that there came newes that the Graue of Mark had taken in the Brill; ſo the tyrant did not goe forward with his bloody enterpriſes.

These words he ſpake at a banquet, as he ſate at the Table, rejoycing he had done the King ſo good ſervice.

Anno 1573 April. 1.

Thus having given you a taſte of ſome of thoſe many things I haue obſerued concerning the intolerable oppreſſion, & worſe then ſalvage cruelty of the Spaniards, exerciſed upon the people, which they endured and laboured under the ſpace of ſixteene yeares; I wil now leaue theſe cruel tyrants to the Lord for judgment, and addreſs my ſelfe to ſpeak ſomewhat further concerning this Earle of Mark, who had thoſe Gentlemen with him that fled. Before this hee had layne with his ſhipping in England, but the King of Spaine ſending his Embaſſadour to our Queen (who was then in peace with him)

I haue inſtanced but 4 or 5 townes, but there were ſcarce any towne eſcaped their cruel pilaging, except they had bribed their Commanders with exceeding largeneſſe.

to

to desire her that she would not suffer his subiects to haue their harbour in her land, and that she would not giue them or suffer them to haue any reliefe whereby they should make head against him: and hereupon the Queene sent and commanded them out of her harbour; and she commanded that they should not be suffered to haue any prouision in her coasts, so that now they had no other meanes but onely God, who did in his mercie prouide for them better then they expected. For they were purposed to haue gone for the Tassel, and to haue taken some towne about that part; but when they came neere that part, they had the wind contrary that they could not come there, so they went for the Maese, and came with their ships before the Brill, and there they went presently and tooke it; yet the Duke of Alva had his forces in the towne, neere so many as they were, whom they presently killed and chased out of the towne, and out of the Iland. The Prince of Orange being in France, and hearing what had happened, he sent them souldiers with as much speed as could be out of France. And within one moneth after Duke Alva sent certaine companies to Vlishing to keep that place strong for himselfe, and many of the commanders were come into the towne: So the Magistrates commanded the citizens to come presently upon the Statehouse, so they told them they must lodge the Spaniards in their houses; and they knowing how they had used the citizens in all places where they came, they told the magistrates they would not haue the Spaniards in their towne. The Magistrates asked them which of them it was that did refuse to receiue them. They sayd, All of them. So the Magistrates seeing them so earnest against the Spaniards, they joyntly tooke their Armes, and killed and took prisoners all them that were in the town, and with their Ordenance they shot at his ships where the Spaniards were, and they made away. And of those that were take, there were the names of about 80 that they had in writing frō Duke Alva that dwelt in the Iland, that they should put to death. So those of the Bril sent their souldiers with speed to help them. And shortly the Prince of Orange came with forces and defended them; and some other townes seeing the cruelue of the Spaniards, forsooke the Spaniard, and joyned with them, and took the Prince of Orange to be their Protector, yet the States notwithstanding did remain in obedience to the King some seven yeares after.

He had appointed those to be executed because they were the chief that stood against the payment of the tenth peny.

Again it is further worthy to be noted, that these Provinces did three times send to the King their Noblemen, but could obtain no mercy, and many more times they went to the Princesse of *Parma*, and made their humble petition for redresse of their oppression, but could not obtain any favour, then they made friends to the renowned Queen of England, and to the Princes of *Germany*, and to the Emperour, who did earnestly entreat by their Embassadours for them. The King of *Spain* answered their Embassadours with these words; he bade them tell their Masters, *That they should meeddle with their own subjects, and not with his, for he knew wel enough how to rule his subjects without their counsel.* Now when our Queenes Majesty found his unreasonablenesse and cruelty, then and not before, she assisted them with Armes.

Ann. 1575.

His own son Prince *Charles* did intreat for them, that it would please him to let them haue their Laws and Priviledges, and that they might not be so oppressed; and withall he told his father that those Countries did belong to him, and that they were given him at his Baptism, for the which his father sent him to prison, and he never came out again. If the Lord would not haue forgot what *Amalek* did, long after, for smiting the weakest and hindmost of his people, how may we in equity forget the infinite murthers, and spoiles, this cruel Tyrant hath executed where-ever he hath prevailed? And who can forget in special that bloudie attempt against our selues, in the year 1588.

Marplam in his Chronicle an. 1567

If I should trace this Tyrant from place to place, I should runne in infinitum, having made the name of Christianity hatefull, by his cruelty, amongst the Heathens that know not God further then the light of nature: for it is confessed by the *Spaniards* themselues, that some of the cheife of the *Indians*, who were to be burnt to death, being told of heaven and hel, they asked whether the *Spaniards* went when they dyed It was answered to heaven, *Oh then sayd they, We will never come there, for We wil never come where the Spaniards are.* But not to run so far, I wil rest content to keep me within the bounds I chiefly intended concerning these Countries. When the Citizens of *Leyden* were in great extremity, by reason of a long sieg, the *Spaniards* proffering conditions of peace, if so be they would yeeld up the Citie and themselues to them, they returned answer; *Not while they had*

They were exhorted by a Popish Priest to minde, that after this life, there was one place for joy, and an other of torment.

had a right hand to hold the ſword, or a left to eat; but if they ſhould be driven to fal into their hands, they would rather burn the Citie and drown themſelues, then to ſubmit to them, of whoſe perfidiouſneſſe they had had ſo lamentable experience: and when ſome of the Citizens preſſed a yeelding, in reſpect of the extremity of famine, a Burgermaſter, called *Peter Adrianſon* ſaid; *Loving friends, I confeſſe the famine is great, and that ſome doe die for want of food: yet rather let us agree to eat up one another, as it ſhall fall by lot, begin with me firſt, and devide me amongſt you.*

At *Antwerpe*, the *Spaniards* by the appointment of their Governour did come into the Citie in battel order, and marched up and down their ſtreets, and ſhot into their houſes, and made a tumultuous noiſe, as if they had been ſo many devils, for one day and two nights, and took the keyes from the Magiſtrates, and ſet watch at the Ports; wherby they put the Citizens in ſo great fear, that many women with childe fell in travel, and ſome dyed with feare: and they went by 12 or 20, into the beſt houſes, and commanded them to prepare them the beſt cheere, as boyled and roſt, and other dainty diſhes, as they liſt to call for; and beſides beer, they would haue at leaſt two ſorts of wine. And all the chiefeſt Citizens houſes had at leaſt ten of theſe gueſts. And they all cryed out for mony, and ſaid that they would haue 15 moneths pay, before they went out of the Citie, of them; and the Magiſtrates told them that they would procure them in cloth, and apparel, and mony the ſumme; but they all cryed out for mony, and that mony they would haue before they went away; ſo at the laſt, the Magiſtrats got the mony, which did amount to 400 thouſand Guldens. And the charge they were at, which theſe companions did coſt the Citizens, was 600 pound ſterling the day, and thus they were oppreſſed with them 28 daies; in which time they had made them all rich ſuites, ſome of ſattin and velvet, and ſome of cloth of gold: and one of them had a cuſhion of velvet, with theſe words in letters of gold. *I am the Dutchmans Bride-well Maſter.* And thus they got rid of them for the preſent. And about two yeares after they came again, and then they uſed the Citizens much more cruelly, for theſe divels did bring ſtraw, and ſet on fire, and put it into the houſes, wherby they ſet nine rich ſtreets on fire, and burnt them with many rich and coſtly goods,

They did this as wel to the Spiritualty, as to the Temporalty no ſort excepted.

They did offer them two parts in mony, and the third in cloth, but they cryed all for mony.

I doe make but a ſhort relation of ſome of the cruelties they did againſt this Citie, yet there ſtands in the Chronicle, one quire of paper of their further cruelty.

goods, and rifled the Citizens of all their rich and coſtly jewels, and ſilver-workes, with their money, and three dayes did they torment the inhabitants for money: and in this time there was murdered of the citizens aboue foure thouſand. The money they took at that time is reckoned for more then 40 tun of gold, beſide the Iewels and the loſſe they had by fire, was as much as the reſt. And thus was the beſt citie of Marchants in Europe ruinated.

That they are now and haue been this 30 yeer. more quiet, I eaſily yeeld it. But why? not that they haue changed their former nature, for they ſtill hold the former principles of the Counſel of Trent, but being more ſubtill, and finding their Kingdom is more weakened, they dare not ſo preſume as formerly.

At *Roſell* there was a Spaniard would force a rich woman to haue the uſe of her body, and the woman cried out for helpe, and her husband came, and two of his neighbours to help his wife, and they thruſt the Spaniard away, and he ran into the ſtreet and cried *Spaynea, Spaynea*, and there came many Spaniſh Souldiers about him, and they ruſhed into the houſe, and took the man and his neighbours, and carried them before the magiſtrates on the towne-houſe where they were aſſembled, and there before them he complained of them to be rebelles, and ſtirrers up of up-rores, and told the magiſtrates that if they did not preſently put them to death, they would burne their towne, and execute them themſelues, whereupon they durſt do no otherwiſe, but hanged two, and whipped the other.

In the yeare 1580, the States proclaimed King Philippo haue loſt his right, by reaſon he violated his oath.

Divers things being manifeſted of the Spaniards cruelty, I will adde one inſtance of their trechery, & that of a famous perſon to his neereſt familiars; yea when he pretended ſweeteſt familiaritie and friendſhip. Pope *Alexander* the 6. a Spaniard by birth, invited divers Nobles and Cardinals to a banket, with a purpoſe to poyſon them all. The meeteſt inſtrument he made choyce of to effect this, was a Spaniard, one *Cæſar Burgia*, his ſworn ſervant. The Pope ſhewed himſelfe wonderfull pleaſant to avoyd ſuſpition, and drank a carouſe to them all; willing that his truſty ſervant to fill from ſuch a bottell he knew well: which he did very effectually to the Pope himſelfe as well as to the reſt. After the company was departed, the Pope perceiving by an alteration in himſelfe, what was done, and that he muſt die now alſo, ſayd to *Burgia*, *This is a right Spaniſh trick*. It is written of them that they are ſo expert in theſe exploits, that if *Iudas* himſelfe were aliue, he might goe to them to Schoole.

A Spaniards kindneſſe to his friends.

I doe beſeech the Lord to ſhew mercy to my native Country, that they may never come under the government of the Spaniards, and giue them hearts to repent of their tranſgreſſions, and that they may ſincerely imbrace the Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, to their endleſſe comfort, Amen.

Yours to command in all ſervices, for the advancement of the truth of Ieſus Chriſt.

S. Q.

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AN ORATION OR SPEECH APPROPRIATED VNTO THE MOST MIGHTIE AND Illustrious Princes of Christendom.

WHEREIN

THE RIGHT AND LAWFVLNESSE OF THE NETHERLANDISH Warre, against Philip King of Spain is approved and demonstrated.

COMPOSED

BY A NETHERLANDISH GENTLEman, and faithfully translated out of diverse Languages into Dutch.

And now Englished by THOMAS WOOD.

According to the printed Copie at *Amsterdam*, by *Michael Cullyne* Stationer, dwelling upon the Water at the corner of the old Bridge street, *Anno* 1608.

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PROVERB. 16. 12.

It is an abhomination to Kings to commit wickednesse: for the throne is established by righteousnesse.

Ibid. CHAP. 20. 28.

Mercy and Truth preserue the King, and his throne is upholden by mercy.

AN ORATION OR SPEECH OF THE RIGHT AND LAWFVLNES of the Netherlandish warre, against *Philip* King of *Spaine*: Vnto the most mightie and illustrious Princes of *Christendome*.

Illustrious Princes of Christendome,

GReat and Mighty are the Kingdoms in your possession, which extend far and wide, throughout all the world: but much more great, and farre more excellent are the vertues and knowledge, by which you hold, preserue and govern the same right ouerly, even to the vttermost extent of felicity. Among which I esteem these two more especiall and remarkeable, which support the huge weight of Kingdoms, as great *Atlas* the world, or the Gyants with their shoulders, *viz. Iustice* and *Benevolence*. The first being the excelling bright-shining mother of all lawes, and dominatrix over all publike Governments or Reipublicks, by which you judge your Citizens and Subjects, according to right and equity; unto which, both you and your subjects wils, power, counsell and desire, most willingly doe yeeld, submit, and are obedient unto; and which with the selfe same bands of Law, doth unite and annex together both you and your subjects alike. For this occasion, the ancient Philosophers in old time did feign, that

that juſtice continually did attend and wait upon their god *Iupiter*, and that *Iupiter* did receiue his inſtructions and precepts from Iuſtice, to the end he might govern and rule all the kingdomes of the earth in good order, and that all his concluſions might be juſt and equall: Not that he did conclude and command after ſuch a manner (as that wicked flatterer *Anaxarchus* did, who would make King *Alexander* beleeeue, that he had done very well in killing *Clitus*, for whom *Alexander* made exceeding great lamentation;) but becauſe Iuſtice which attended on him had concluded and commanded the ſame. For the wiſeſt men in former times haue been of opinion, that for the enioying of juſtice, there muſt be good and gentle Kings ſet over the people.

Now although this vertue and knowledge doth ſo extend and ſpread it ſelfe abroad, through the underſtanding, manners, and liues of all men; that without the ſame, there can be no worthy act performed; neither can men liue honeſtly without the ſame: Yet is ſhe of farre greater power (ô Princes) in this your great and illuſtrious office: for ſhe requires, and will haue of you, that thoſe Lawes which haue been given and left unto poſterity, ſo many yeares agoe, by ſo many ſeverall men your Predeceſſors, which you ſee and finde to be fitting and agreeable, to the underſtanding, condition, and manners of your people: that you (I ſay) doe hold and maintain the ſame, ſacred, and unviolable: For if you aboliſh them, you aboliſh your Kingdomes, and precipitate them into a miſerable deſtruction. For one and the ſame Law is not fitting for all people, like as the ſword at *Delphos* was ſerviceable for many things: They neither will, nor can they all be ruled and governed with one and the ſame government. But your Predeceſſors, in their obſervation of the Lawes, which each of you enjoy, haue preſcribed unto you a lawfull, ſure, and permanent government, which is the foundation and prop of your higheſt and godlieſt dignity.

Although you be not ignorant, what the other which I named *Benevolence*, is powerfull, and addeth to a fit and permanent government, I mean that inclination, loue, will and affection, to doe good unto your ſubjects, and to provide for, and to augment them to the profit and commodity, as well of the generall, as of the particular; for whoſe commodity you acknowledge that all your coun-

counſels and actions muſt be meaſured and squared unto.

This *Benevolence* maketh you your ſubjects fathers, and not their Lords; their Paſtors, and not their Butchers; their Kings, and not tyrants (nor cruel dominators). Out of this fountain doe you lead the enerants of your other vertues, as mercy, lenity, familiarity, moderation, and liberality. Finally, this is the true deſire and luſt for the continuance of the common proſperity, for which cauſe Kingdoms are given and diſtributed unto you of the immortal God. Obſerving that ſubjects are not created and born for your ſakes, to ſerue you: but you are ordained for the ſubjects ſake, to the end that you ſhould take care and provide for them, to be profitable unto them, to ſhelter and defend them, with your countenance, vertues and providence.

Vpon theſe two vertues ſubſiſteth all the knowledge of government; the greatneſſe and power of all Princes, and the proſperity of all ſubjects: and that Prince which ſhall neglect and deſpiſe the ſame, poſſeſſeth a weak and impotent kingdom, and is indeed a very Tyrant, whoſe will and arrogancy is not to be obeyed.

Hereby you may eaſily underſtand, *O moſt mighty and illuſtrious Princes of Chriſtendome*, in what manner we muſt eſteem of *Phillip* king of *Spaine*.

And wheras the Lords, the States of the united *Netherlands*, doe oppoſe his violence and unjuſt government, I haue thought it good, to ſet down by way of diſcourſe, and to touch a little the right or lawfulneſſe of this warre, deſiring that you, as good and righteous mediators, laying aſide all ſecret hate, evill affection, and parciall partaking, will take notice and judge herof, with an upright, ſound, and pure conſcience, out of that which I, in a true and ſhort relation and hiſtorie (of thoſe things which haue been performed in the time of King *Phillip*, by his arrogancie, and licentious government) ſhall declare unto you.

When I intend to acquaint you herewith, the ſuperfluity of matter doth impoveriſh my counſell and skill, ſo that I cannot tell what ſpeciall order and courſe I muſt uſe and obſerue herein. I ſee that I muſt deale herein as Painters doe, who upon a little peece or tablet are to paint a great number of perſons: for like as they doe demonſtrate of ſome, but the face; of others, onely the top or

crown of the head, all the other parts of their bodies being ſhadowed. In like manner will it be needfull that I, of ſo many things which haue been done in the *Netherlands*, vndertake the relation of ſome few, and obſerue the chiefe, eminent and principall poynts very roundly and briefly. From which you ſhall perceiue, that the beginning of our warre at the firſt, had great and juſt occaſion, and that in the courſe and progreſſion thereof, they are become greater and more juſt. But ô you *Illuſtrious Princes* at this preſent, be attentiue to heare ſo great and weightie a buſineſſe with wel-affected eares and minds, ſo many of you as there be, who for ſo many ages haue enjoyed your lawful and happy government, and ſeeke for the common good and proſperitie of your ſubjects. For I proteſt and ſweare vnto you, with precious and holy words vpon the altar of truth, that I wil not adde any thing hereunto, but that which is grounded and proceedeth from reaſon it ſelfe; neither in my relation wil digreſſe or ſtray one fingers bredth from the truth.

That great Emperour *Charles* before he had pacified and quieted thoſe great iarres and troubles of the Empire, and had augmented the ſame with almoſt innumerable countries and kingdomes; hee performed almoſt endleſſe and incredible iournies and expeditions; nine in Germany, ſixe in Spaine, ſeven in Italy, ten in the Netherlands, foure in peace and warre in France; Two expeditions he performed in Africa, at what time he meant to leaue off and to end the warres in high Germany, the ſucceſſe thereof ſeeming to be very vncertaine and doubtful: And being ouer-cloid with age and glory, leaving his government, departed into Spaine, and there in peace and quietneſſe, yea in the greateſt and happieſt tranquilitie to finiſh and end his bleſſed age. Then did this moſt victorious Emperour diſinherit and eſtrange himſelfe from all his kingdomes, countries and prouinces: And by this meanes, all the labours and cares of all the affaires of his father by inheritance deſcended vnto his ſonne *Philip*.

Vnto whom he often before (but more eſpecially when (as I haue ſayd) preparing himſelfe the laſt time to goe for Spaine, and to leaue his life and the Netherlands) did exhort: (like as all good Princes doe that haue an eſpeciall care for the will, vertue, care and affection of thoſe that ſucceed them in their government,) and that very

very earnestly in the presence of the Prince of Orange, and the aged Bossu, and other Nobles: He did admonish him (I say) that he aboue all other his kingdomes and countries, should haue an especiall care and regard unto those Netherlandish Provinces; That hee should carefully remember, that these people were not used to bee governed with any hard or tyrannicall kinde of government, And that they had an abhomination & a detestation of the severity, pride, and arrogancie of the Spaniards; And that they were exceedingly inclined to their owne lawes and liberties: unto which if his sonne *Philip* had not due regard, and thereunto endevoured himselfe, that he with all benevolence, and (as equitie requireth) with a just and righteous upholding of his lawes, did not maintaine this people; that the time would come, that his government in the Netherlands would be weakned.

This good Father and Patriot, and yet the most mightie Emperour, was mindfull how often he had been faithfully assisted and holpen both with counsell and deeds in all his so many crosses and extremities, by his Netherlands: He knew well, when as he revolving all the former times in his remembrance, that the government of all the Kings and Princes of Spaine were ever very severe, proud, and cruell; not onely against their subjects, but even against all other nations, and that there was already planted and setled in the Spaniards an naturall and old inveterate hate of the Netherlanders, which oftentimes very manifestly had appeared: He had also in especiall consideration, that his sonne *Philip* was borne and brought up in Spaine, and that he there with the milke of his Nourses had sucked in those great defects both of minde and manners, and that he consenting thereunto, intended very advisedly to prosecute the same; and that he in all his manners and behaviours was like an absolute Spaniard; so that he could speak nothing but Spanish, and onely would bee served of none but Spaniards: And like as one peece of wood is bowed and made crooked by the art of man, and others grow even so: in like maner hath *Philip* both had and held from his birth and education, many defects which are not fitting for such Princes.

For as soone as the Emperour had left the Netherlands, even so soone left *Philip* the wholesome and provident counsels of his good

good father. And like as by the light of the Sunne, the light of a candle is obſcured: And like as one drop of brine is annihilated by the wideneſſe of the great and ſpacious ſea which devideth Aſia from Chriſtendome; even ſo were all thoſe moſt excellent admonitions of the Emperour, (which like the voyce of a dying Swanne, at his departing, he ſung unto his ſonne) ſwallowed up in the exceeding ſpacious and bottomles gulfe of the Spaniſh ambition and hate which they beare unto our Nation; which ſo totally poſſeſſed the mind of *Philip* and all Spaniards, that they would not permit, that the Netherlanders ſhould be obedient unto their lawfull and paternall lawes, but that they ſhould be obedient unto their arrogancie, as well as other nations of India, Italy, and Arragon. From whence you may underſtand (that which your ſelues, to your great loſſe and damage haue oftentimes proved to be true, ſince that time that *Philip* came to the government of his kingdomes) that his proud arrogancie and ambition is intollerable and incredible, that hee ſeeketh to purchaſe to himſelfe over all men, (through his extreame greedineſſe, and by meanes of all his treaſures and oppreſſion) an unlawfull power and meanes of government.

The warres in France which the Emperour by a truce had quieted, was by king *Philip* renewed: And whereas he for the maintenance thereof, had deſired a ſpecial taxation of the States of the Netherlands; the ſame was willingly, and with one conſent of all the States granted: although that they before (as is aforeſaid) had furniſhed the Emperour with many great ſummes of money in ſo many warres. For whereas according to the uſe and cuſtome of their predeceſſors, all the States were aſſembled, and the voyce of every State required (for ſuch matters might not be done without a general conſent, the conſent could not be without a preceding aſſembly of the States) where was concluded to bring up a great ſumme of money for *Philip* for the terme of nine yeares, the which was called *Subſidium novennale*, or a nine yeares Subſidie; which was very ſerviceable for that warre: But much more, the farre famous, and many yeares valour of the Netherlandiſh Champions, wherein they as wel alſo in many other warres, as in this, had effected ſo much, that *Phillip* in two proſperous battails, having overcome and driven out of the field, the moſt mightie King of France,

who

who afterward desiring peace, did prescribe unto him such lawes and conditions, which tended to his singular honor and profit. And certainly all men, but especially the conquered French, and ill-repining Spaniard, attributed the honor of this victory unto the valour and valiantnesse of the Netherlanders.

And this one onely matter then was of such importance, that if King *Philip* by so many benefites done to his father, and unto himselfe, could not be induced to *Benevolence* (yet above all, that most excellent testimony of the Queen of Hungary, being added thereunto; who leaving the government of the Netherlands, did assure the King, that the fidelitie and valour of the Netherlanders, was more then sufficiently known. To whom both the Emperour and the King were especially beholden) yet notwithstanding by this alike-minded and uniforme consent, by this their fidelitie, by this their valour, and that of the chiefest of them, he ought to have been kindled and inflamed to their love, and to *Benevolence*.

But *Philip* rejected and cast at his heeles all these testimonies, and despised the benefites and valiant deeds of the Netherlanders. What doe I say despised? He hath recompenced them with most extreame hate, and most cruel and tyrannical deeds. For when the peace was concluded in France, it seemed hee tooke in very ill part, that the States a little before, in the conclusion of the 9 yeares subsidie, did not presently, when he had but scarce opened his mouth, and as soon as it did but please him, did not presently open unto him their whole treasurie, and cast downe before him at one instant, all their Treasurie; that they were not presently obedient unto his command; But that first, they, according to their customs and law, having held as it were a Parliament or convocation of the States being gathered together, and having taken counsel thereupon, to the end that the businesse might be granted by a generall consent; and that there might be ordained what manner of persons should chiefly be appointed, in to whose hands that mony might be delivered, and how the same might be distributed most conveniently for the kings use. For these occasions did he (who oppresseth our liberties, and abbrogating the lawes of our Fathers, seeking to himselfe the government alone, which indeed is more tyranny, or cruel government) adjudge the bringing up of that money not as a *Benefite*, but

for *Crimen læsæ majestatis*, And ever bearing a jealous eye toward the States, as being enemies and refractory unto his government and dominion. For this was for *Philip*, and for all Spaniards, a sufficient and lawful occasion enough to beginne to declare themselues enemie unto the Netherlanders; and violently to suppresse both their lawes, libertie and privileges.

This we know is the custome of all tyrants, that seek and hunt after the very least occasions, masking the same with certain shewes of right, for the annihilating of the lawes of the subjects, and the pulling of them down under foot.

After such a manner in former time did the sonne of *Sextus Tarquinius*, who having the chiefe government of the citie of the Gabians, by treachery and false accusations, slew and banished all the Councel, to the end that he by that meanes might bring the citie under the tyranny of his father. We also finde written of *Iulius Cæsar*, that he intruding himselfe (against the lawes and privileges) into a perpetual government; that all those who opposed his doings, that he with some kind of shew or appearance of truth, or else by some concealed treacherie, made them away.

The Spaniards themselues, haue even out of this haven of just complaints, and righteous accusations, put but to sea with full sailes, intending long agoe, their cruel, solo, and chiefe government over the Netherlanders. And surely there wanted no inhabitants, who with their oares of most pestilent counsell, did row this ship to the Spanish tyranny. For there was one or two of the Nobilitie unworthy their generation, and unworthy of their countrey, who being not able to make satisfaction for their dealings, and thought they could not stand fast and permanent, unlesse they overthrew the state of the common government, Among whom that great usurer *Barlemont* extold and lifted up himselfe, and vomited out of his deadly mouth all manner of wicked and poysoned counsel into the bosome of the king: whereby the devotions of the Spaniards were provoked and stirred up to a greater violence, deceit, and to all evil proceedings. For the matter it selfe was come to that effect, that the king intended to haue executed the Battle of Lalaing, and all the States, being very wise and provident men, and certaine others who were Patriots of our Republick and State. These men (I say) who

a little before had heaped so many benefits upon the King, and had set their liues in the ballance, and hazarded their estate for his good and government. What cruelty was ever greater then this? what sin or offence of ingratitude was ever greater then this which hath been spoken of? But yet moreover and aboue, ô Princes, heare what licentiousnesse and selfe-wil *Philip*, before his intended journey into Spaine, had resolved by himselfe. Hee desired that they should take in Souldiers into all their chiefe cities, and out of their owne meanes to pay them monthly; And that all the Burgesses and subjects should bring up their Armes. They denied not the command of their supreme Lord, but desired that those souldiers which should be levied, might be of the inhabitants, and no Spaniards. The king persisted, that by all meanes they must be Spaniards, which should be raised, as upon whom he established the foundation of his cruel government. He commanded them that they should keepe good watch and ward in all the chiefe Castles and fortifications of the Provinces; who not restraining the hellish outrages of their enmitie and inveterate malice in the injuring and murthering of the Netherlanders; but presently gaue the reines thereto at Antwerpe, Atrecht, and Camerick all chiefe cities of the Netherlands.

Moreover, that which was altogether opposite to our lawes, and was very convenient for the effecting of his oppression, and for the establishing of his licentious government, *Philip* ordained and adjoyned certaine Spanish Counsellors to the States, having made choyce of such who naturally were prone and inclined for trecheries, deceits, tyranny or cruel government, as were the Earls of *Feres*, *Verges*, and *Eras*, who in their bosomes should haue all the wil, government and counsel of king *Philip*; unto whom he commanded that the States should giue place, and that they should not doe any thing whatsoever, but what these great *Catoes* did approue.

Now when as the chiefe sway of all the lands affaires was in their power, then must our people (the prudent wise-men, and lovers of their countrey, and those that sought the welfare of the land) go up and downe like shadowes, and were but a cypher among the figures, and were held for statues of stone, who participated of the government, nothing but the bare name, and neither could nor might effect any thing that tended to the commonwealth.

Then began our libertie and liues to be very uncertaine, and to be set to sale, for this is the very truth, ô Princes; king *Philip* and the Spaniards whose seruice he most vsed for his lasciuious goverment, laboured all of them thereunto, like as in former times the ancient Romanes did with their *Decem-viri*, or ten men, who required of the Grecians the obseruing of the new law of the twelue Tables (as they called it:) That we euen so, rejecting and despising our libertie by those exceeding too-too cruel Three-men, should desire a new government, and the most proudest lawes of the Spanish counsel, which should proceed from those counsellors, which I haue named: And as ye now perceiue, ô Princes, that they by the authority from their king *Philip*, wil giue the law, and goverene all people of the earth; euen so would they lead (with the same yoke of seruitude and bondage) the backes of all the Netherlanders, with the burthen of the most cruel government. They intended wholy to ouerthrow and ouerwhelme our wel-setled Reipublick, to the end, that their owne pleasures, licentiousnesse, and arrogancie might be vsed in stead of our lawes. This was that which they called *perfect and absolute obedience*: but we may better call it *Tyrannie*: that is, a violent doing government, which resisteth and opposith our good lawes and customes; with the which many yeares agoe they haue ouerwhelmed and distressed them of *India, Sicilia, Calabria, Milain, Arragon, and Portugall*. The Spaniard suffereth none of these countries to liue after the peculiar lawes of their owne Reipublick: but they haue sent vnto them out of Spaine (as out of Rome) Viceroyes, Governors, Legats, and Counsellors, who are all of them Spaniards.

Wherefore may they doe thus? Because the worthinesse and majesty of the Spanish Monarchy (as they imagine) requireth the same.

That great and ponderous *Axioma* and discipline of the Stoicks, doth prescribe vnto them the same: for which they haue not gone to schoole to learne, nor haue studied for; but of their owne nature and vnderstanding faculties, they seeme to haue swallowed vp, and now of late to haue renewed the same, viz. In regard they doe hold and report that all nations of the earth, to be in respect of them, but their seruants and bondslaues, yea for dumbe, foolish, dishonorable

nourable, miserable, and for very beasts: and contrarily doe esteem themselues for Kings, onely-wise, onely-rich, onely-happy, and onely-men. Among whom *Phillip*, as the onely *Chrysippus*, seemeth to vnder-prop and susteyn the gallerie or walking place of these supercilious Philosophers. And to proue this, they affirme, that it is lawfull for them, by the law of Armes to domineer over strange nations, considering that it is allowed for currant, by the Law of Nations, and Custome; that Conquerours must giue the Law to the conquered, according to their own pleasure.

If that we must (ô Princes) like as indeed we must, allow of this, as being an ancient Custome of all Nations; wherfore then doe the *Spaniards* attribute this lawfulnesse vnto themselues here in the *Netherlands*, in regard the land descended to *Phillip* by inheritance, and not by force of Armes, nor violence, nor by any Spanish treacherie? But the Tyrant had farre rather that all things had bern turned topsey-turvy, with warres and with fire, to bring all things to a desolate destruction, and to mingle heaven and earth together, then to leaue the priuiledges of the *Netherlanders*, which is descended vnto them from their predecessors, which he hath well perceiued by the home-bred inhabitants, to be more precious and deer vnto them, then their own liues and bloud: And therfore hee thought that this was the course he must take: First, to attempt the same (as enemie) by force of Armes, and after to deprive them of the Lawes of their fore-fathers; and he then being Conquerour, might giue new Tables or Lawes to the conquered: the which indeed Duke *d'Alva* himselfe long agoe confessed, who having established already a ciuill warre, and hauing by more then a Tyrannicall warre surprized many Cities, he then said; and publiquely made his boast: that the King no longer had the Lawes or Rights of a Prince in the *Netherlands*, but of a conquerour; and therefore he put in execution his cruel tyrannising, no otherwise, then as if long since he had effected the same, by giuing the most licentious lawes, by making forfeited both the liues and goods of the chiefe end best ablest of the Burgers, by selling their goods at a common out-cry, and by delivering their bodies over vnto the hang-man. What? Did ever any tyrant or enemy attempt the like? Did ever *Gelo* or *Hiero* of *Sicilia* the like? Or did ever *Pisistratus*

the sonne of *Hipocrates* the like? We reade of them, that although they by force of Armes, and against the Lawes, had purchased the Kingdom and Soveraignrie; that they nevertheless governed moderately, and according to the lawes of the conquered Countrey, and by their government bettered and brought the Reipublique of *Sicilia* into greater prosperity. What shall I say also of *Lydiades* that Tyrant? Who in the end holding in abhommination his unjust, pampered, and voluptuous tyrannizing in the Citie of *Megalophlis*, restored to them their Lawes againe, and afterwards, fighting very valiantly with the common enemy for the maintenance of their prosperity, was slain in the battell.

When the *Romanes* at any time had taken a Province by force of Armes, they commanded and governed the same with absolute moderation, satelinesse, providence and equity: But thou ô *Philip*, dost not with-hold thy selfe from unjust dealing, from violence, from our deaths, nor from the subversion of our Lawes and Priviledges: wheras we being descended unto thee, neither by warre, nor by tyrannie; but by a lawfull inheritance, and by right of marriage. And therfore if thou wilt play the part of a Tyrant, ô *Philip*, doe that in *Italy*, which many yeares since by right of warre is brought into thy obedience. Wilt thou be esteemed for a King? Then be a King in *Spain*, or rather in *Jerusalem*. But wilt thou be a Monarch (to which end thy Spanish Sooth-sayers long agoe haue made unto thee many a goodly prophesie?) Be it where thou maist mingle thy fire and sword together. Wilt thou be a great Dommator, or violent Governour, Be it in *Asia*, be it in *Africa*. For, so much as concerneth us, we doe not acknowledge that proud name of thy Soveraignty; neither doe we entertain thy most unjust lawes into our free government. We haue no fellowship at all with Tyrants; but we are even to the uttermost extent, seperated, and estranged from them. We haue a Duke and Prince, and such a one lawfully, limited by the most just limits of the Lawes. Thou hast sworn that thou wast such a one, and for ever wouldst be, when thou with exceeding joy, and hope of every man didst make thy joyfull entrance into our Cities: when thou camst into our Towns to the great rejoycing and hope of every man, when every man did entertain and imbrace thee with the highest honour and officiousnesse,

neſſe. Then didſt thou, according to the cuſtome, even before all all the people, binde thy ſelfe with an holy oath upon the moſt bleſſed Evangeliſts, that thou wouldſt hold the Lawes of our Predeceſſours for good, and that thou wouldſt not alter nor change any one of thoſe Lawes.

Yet to the end, that not without occaſion I ſeem ſo often to make mention thereof, and to nominate our liberty ſo often, I will tell you what our liberty is, and what it requireth. For *I beleeue moſt Illuſtrious and mighty Princes*, that *Phillip* hath put the remembrance of them long agoe out of his mind, and that he thinketh that it is the character of the whore *Tanegrea* (which *Claudius* called the liberty of the wicked Roman Citizens,) and that he and his *Spaniards*, haue not onely the image of licentionſneſſe and admittance; but that they altogether doe honour and worſhip the ſame, as the Goddeſſe and *Venus* of their Avariciouſneſſe. Yet becauſe I am perſwaded, that our liberty conſiſteth in the Rights, Lawes, Cuſtomes and Manners of our Predeceſſors, I will repeat the ſame, if it pleaſe you, and will bring ſome of them into your remembrance, to the end that yee, ô Princes, may underſtand what manner of Lawes they be, for which we (as for our welfare) doe fight, without fearing any kinde of death.

X

The Oath of the Netherlandiſh Princes.

I

That they may not make any proceſſe againſt any man, neither contrary to the Lawes of the Cities, nor of the publick Courts, but muſt giue leaue to every man to defend himſelfe by an Atturney.

II

They ſhall ſuffer no ſtranger nor ſtrangers to adminiſter in any publique office.

III

They ſhall place no man in the chiefe and higheſt dignity and authority ouer the Prouinces, which are not of their blood and kinred.

IIII

They may not alter the State of the Republick, by giuing out their Letters Patents

Patents or Placcates, upon their own authority, neither may they bring any novelties therin.

V

Neither may they demand any Taxation, without the publique consent and grant of the States; they must have their ordinarie Revenues, and must be content therwith.

VI

They may not without consent of the States of the Provinces, bring any Souldiers into the Provinces and Cities therof.

VII

They may never advance, nor cry-down the valew of money, without the permission of the States.

VIII

A disobedient and culpable Burger, they may not constrain him, neither by Amercements, Bands nor Blowes before the Magistrate shall have made enquiry concerning him, and also given judgment therof.

IX

A malefactor, whatsoever trespasse he shall have committed, that is condemned by the Iudge, they may not take him out of the Provinces to bring him to any other place of execution.

X

The prosperity of the people shall be their chiefest Law.

XI

If any Prince at his departure hath disturbed the state of the Reipubliqne, either by violence, wrong-dealing, or treacherie, then all the States and Burgers may deny him obedience, and shall be free and discharged of their oaths: they shall appoint a chiefe in his place, untill he be reduced unto a better minde, and more easie government.

These are the chiefe Lawes (although there be yet others much like unto these) by which even to this present, the liberty of the *Netherlands*, very long, and very exceeding well, and most flourishingly have been maintained.

Behold and consider now o Princes, I pray you, what I have said and shall say of that violent, and most wrongfull Government of *Phillip*, how directly he hath opposed our liberty; yea, and Iustice it selfe.

It is not very needfull that I by many demonſtrations proue that which already I haue proued; that *Phillip* hath violated the Lawes of the *Netherlands*, and that by meer force he ſeeketh to overwhelm and to turn the whole *Netherlands* topſie-turvie: conſidering that every man may ſee and reade out of the intercepted letters of *Alua*, the Embaſſadour of *Phillip*; That this is knowen for ſure and certain; who in his letters written out of France unto the Princeſſe of *Parma*, then Governeſſe of the *Netherlands*, affirmeth: That it was certainly concluded by his King, to abrogate and quite aboliſh all the Priviledges of the *Netherlanders*; and that he would preſcribe ſuch a Law unto them, that no other Law ſhould be of any force, then that which ſhould be given them by his command, and with his counſel. And therfore he called for the Popes Authority to aſſiſt him; who acquitting and diſcharging him of his faith-keeping, of his ſworn promiſes, and of his ſo high and ſacred an oath, which he had ſworn to maintain the Netherlandiſh Lawes, to the end he might afterwards (with the wind of this vain diſpenſation) with ful ſet ſailes, bravely ruſh himſelfe into the ſea of the Spaniſh tyrannie; and that under pretext of the Romiſh Religion and Holineſſe, ſuch like cruelties and tyrannie which he uſeth to all good Princes and Nations of the earth, might under the ſame be ſheltred and defended.

O injuſtice not to be concealed, ô too too unprovident and unworthy Prince to govern! For what could he haue done more raſhly, or more unprovident in his government, then to get himſelfe freed from the oath which he had ſworn to his ſubjects? So ignorant in the land affaires was *Phillip*, that he underſtood not what a faſt and firm obligation, and band of the conſcience, wils, and all other affaires, is effected betwixt him and his ſubjects, by that mutuall and reciprocal fidelity, and the reſpect to oathes: That he underſtood not of what force the bonds of the Law and fidelity is, which annex and binde together the offices of all Princes, of Counſellours and of Subjects, of Lords and Vaſſals: For, for the very ſelfe-ſame occaſion that the Farmer or Tenant looſeth the right of his Farme; the owner alſo by the ſame right is deprived of the proprietie of the ſame: The Tenant or Farmer is not bound to keep faith and promiſe with the owner, nor to be obedient unto him;

if he deny to keep faith and promise with him, and to keep the rights of the Farm from him also.

Domitius the Oratour in times past said, wherfore should I acknowledg you for a Prince, since you doe not acknowledge mee for a Counsellour; To which end *Lucius Crassus* said very well: Shall I acknowledge you for a Burgermaster, when you doe not acknowledge me for a Counsellour? Wherfore then should not wee with one uniform voyce, say we acknowledge *Phillip* for no King who doth not acknowledge us for his Burgers? but holds us for particular and common enemies.

Therfore this perfiduousnesse was hurtfull for *Phillip* when hee endevoured to discharge the States of the promise and Oath which they had made to him: So that they no more now need to esteem, nor be obedient unto him, as their Lord or Prince, but may by all right reject and defie him as a Tyrant, and as a common enemy to the Countrey. For as some men by sicknes, or by defect of the senses, doe not taste the daintinesse of the meat; even so now, such a mischievous lust and desire to effect all things (whatsoever his heart imagineth, hath captivated *Phillip*, & other Tyrants, that they can neither see nor perceive what is profitable or hurtfull for themselues, in this their mischievous desire of unjust Soveraignty, but are by the cruelty of their natures transported and driven to all kinde of mischiefes and crimes worthy of punishment.

But with what conscience, with what will, with what affection, O *Phillip*, hast thou got such an abominable detestation of our Lawes, and dost so farre digresse from them, that for them thou shouldst so shamefully violate, break and make shipwrack of thy faith and truth, which all good Princes are accustomed to keep holy and unviolable, even as the ground-work and foundation of all justice? Were they unjust? Were they not conform to equity? Or did they any wise injurie thy dignity and Spanish Majestee? The Emperours, Kings and Princes thy Predecessours (who undoubtedly are to be preferred and accounted before thee in the worthinesse of their government in lustre, glory and excellencie) they haue made and prescribed them themselues, and in such manner so prescribed them, that they were fitting, just, and beseeming for a good Prince; by which the common welfare of the Netherlands might be supported and

established,

eſtabliſhed, & the proſperity & perpetuity of our Reipublick, might remain ſetled and grounded in good order. For the making of them, hath that great & mighty Emperor thy father, & all thy Predeceſſors more applyed all their endevours, diligence, care, ability and vigilancie, then thou ô *Phillip*, haſt done for the overthrowing of them, and for the deſtruction of the whole Reipublick with thy tyrannie and violent oppreſſion. For thoſe good Princes underſtood very well (that which thou and all other Tyrants are uſed to deny and reſiſt) that the onely office of good Princes is, to be alwaies mindfull, not onely of what is committed to their charge, but alſo in what manner the ſame is committed to their charge: They were alwaies mindfull that they repreſented the body of the Commonwealth, and that they ought to maintain the dignity and the proſperitie of the ſame; to maintain the Lawes in their vigour, and to defend their Rights and Cuſtomes; and to have in minde that ſuperexcellent and moſt royal ſpeech of King *Theohadates*, *When all things are in our power, then we ſimply beleeve that all commendable things are lawfull.* Therfore *Antigonus*, the third King of the *Macedonians* wrote unto his Cities, that if peradventure he had commanded or publiſhed any thing by letter or decree, that ſeemed to oppoſe their Lawes, that therin they ſhould not be obedient; but ſhould perſwade themſelves, that he either by ignorance, or by error was miſtaken. Surely this was a great and moſt excellent King. To this King by chance, hearing one ſay, *That all things without any diſference were lawfull and beſeeming Kings*, He thereunto, both as well honourably, as providently, made reply: *Yea, for the Barbarian Kings; but unto us lawfull things are onely lawfull, and juſt things are onely juſt.*

In like manner *Themiſtocles*, being required of *Simonides*, that for his advantage in the Court he would pronounce an unjuſt ſentence, he anſwered: *As thou couldſt not be a good Poet, if thou ſhouldſt tranſgreſſe meaſure in Poetry: So ſhould not I be a good Prince, if I ſhould tranſgreſſe any thing contrary to the Lawes.*

Doſt not thou now ſee thy ſelfe, ô *Phillip*, in ſuch like Actions, and in all the things which thou haſt done, convinced of the heathenish and worldly Kings? whereas thou wilt be eſteemed for a King; yea, and the Catholike King? Doſt not thou ſee plainly that

thou art convinced by their Teſtimonie, who were onely lead by nature to maintain Iuſtice and Equitie? Doſt not thou ſee evidently by the teſtimony of every one, that thou art enforced to acknowledge that thou haſt endevoured and ſtil endevoureſt thy ſelfe to Tyrannie? And to the end that I may now paſſe unto other matters, yet I muſt not forget this proofe of his Tyrannie: that *Phillip*, from the time that he firſt took upon him the government of the Netherlands, would haue had, that the Convocation and the Aſſembly of the States ſhould haue been holden in ſtrange Countries; and that he many times, forbad, diſperſed and hindred the meetings of the Lords of the Councel; when they according to their manner and cuſtome in their Aſſemblies of State, did treat and deal in the behalfe of the common good of the Lands. For this Councel of the States was ordained, as a Protector of the Lawes, a Preſerver, a Surveyer, and Defender of the Reipublick, and of all common affaires; and was the haven and refuge of the oppreſſed.

He to whom the charge was committed to ſee that the Reipublick ſhould not be endamaged; even him hath *Phillip* not permitted to come into the Aſſembly of the States. He concluded that he muſt haue another Councel; that he with that Councel could not effect his own counſel and tyrannie. For he had learned that of *Tarquinius Superbus*, who in the Roman government (which was left unto him of his Predeceſſors) uſed to diſpoſe and order all things with counſel and adviſe, he took that clean away; and adminiſtred and ſerved the Comonaltie with the counſel of his own opinion: And after him *Iulius Caſar*, who oppreſſed the Reipublicks, made himſelfe perpetual Dictator or Preſident, and prohibited the Aſſemblies. The which Reipublicks afterward by *Auguſtus* being pacified and quieted were reduced into their former integrity. Which Aſſemblies *Nero*, that infamous Tyrant, in the beginning of his raign, did again prohibit. For *Phillip* not onely hated, troubled and ſeparated, the Aſſemblies and Convocations of the States; but alſo of the Nobles and Burgeſſes, their Colleges, Aſſemblies and Convocations; wheras contrarily he ought to haue been a good Father, and a faithful Adminiſtrator of all good Lawes and Cuſtomes; but more eſpecially and aboue all, of the ſtately office of the States.

And therefore, ô Princes, if I ſhould proceed to make relation of all the injuries which haue been committed by *Philip* in the Netherlands, you might manifeſtly ſee and perceiue, that hee intended a moſt vnjuſt and intolerable government, and that he is driven and preſſed to ſuch an intent, by his ambitious deſire and extreame hate towards the Netherlanders. I know wel that I ſpeake of things which are ſufficiently knowne to the world, and reported of by all men; And that thoſe things which I declare, are better known to every one, then I am able to conceiue in my minde, or to expreſſe with my pen. Yet I wil giue you to underſtand ſome particulars, although my delivery and abilitie is not any wiſe able to ſatisfie your capacitie and knowledge therein. For I cannot remember that there hath ever been in this world a more wicked and vile act heard of then this which *Philip* did, when he not onely intended the ſeparation and diſperſion of the nobleſt of the States: but alſo to kil and to haue murthered them: And even at that very time (as I haue ſaid already) when they had brought up vnto him the nine yeares ſubſidie, not onely with an eſpecial and ſingular good wil, but with a farr greater officiouſneſſe. As alſo when he firſt in a ſecret counſel had concluded vtterly to haue extirpated and eradicated all the Netherlanders, which by him and his vnjuſt inquiſitors were ſuſpected to be altered in religion.

Now to the end I paſſe not by that in ſilence; Before *Philip* had accuſed the States of rebellion, contumacie, and *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*, Duke d'*Alva* made declaration vnto *Henrie* the ſecond, King of France, that *Philips* intent was not onely to put to execution the Nobles and Gentlemen, but alſo all thoſe ſubjects which were ſuſpected to bee of the reformed and pure religion. *Philip* would haue murthered ſo many thouſand people, and would haue butchered them like innocent lambes, which never had given him ſo much as an ill word; yea who alwayes with an eſpecial Benevolence and officiouſneſſe, had moſt willingly been obedient to his command, over whom hee (after the Emperours departure) had ſcarcely ruled and governed one yeare. So that if in caſe he from that time to this preſent (and according to that cruel and tyrannical beginning) might haue runne out the courſe of his tyranny, we had been choked and buried long agoe in our own blood.

Which of you, ô Princes, is there that maketh any doubt of the truth hereof, in regard that the King of France whom I even now named, did not spare to advertise the Prince of Orange (when hee with other Princes was concluding the peace of *Passowe*, in the behalfe of King *Philip*) that such an exceeding evil act was intended by the wicked counsels of King *Philip*? But I pray you, ô Princes, doe not think that *Philip* undertook this for religion. This was his religion, that he thought it a sin to let any man liue, who did not hold and esteeme for good; yea, and to eat up as suger, all his counsels and intents. This did his religion permit, and therefore hee made no conscience nor sinne, to haue murthered so many thousand innocent Burgers, to the end that at once all the Nobilitie and chiefe of the Netherlands might haue been made away.

He accounted that for no sin at all, in the warres of the *Moriscoes* to apprehend an hundred marchants of *Granado*, and in one night in a tumult to cut all their throats and to murther them. Not that they were any way suspected for their religion (for they had been alwayes of the Romish Catholick beliefe) but for their money and great riches: For he that was of the least abilitie among them, was worth fiftie thousand Ducates, which treasure *Philip* presently appoynted to be brought into his treasurie and Exchequer.

And this is briefly what *Philip* himselfe hath done, as being the head and chiefe Architecture of our miseries. Let us now descend unto the times which followed, after that hee had left the Netherlands, and was gone into Spaine. O these were heavy (and by reason of the abundance of calamities) most deadly times. Times? The remembrance thereof bringeth a deadly feare, horror, and an extreame detestable abhorring, unto the soules and bodies of all good Patriots and lovers of their country. O is not this a miserable case, that the Spaniards, Moriscoes, and Semi-moriscoes, should haue had so much right, or farre rather so much violence, over us: who notwithstanding were ready and prepared not onely to haue left and lost our goods, but even our welfare, wiues, children, and our liues, in the service of the most high God and the King. That we, I say, so suddenly were proclaimed for rebels, and repugnant godlesse heretickes. And after so many provocations, instigations and injuries, being dejected and throwne down to the ground, not by one champion

pion, not by one blow, but by many and grievous wounds, could scarcely begge and preserue our liues and soules of our pestilent enemie.

Let us now a little obserue these champions one after another, according as the ensuing times shall declare and manifest the same, which *Philip* sent out of Spaine to be supreame Lords of the Netherlands; not that they should be as wholsome and medicinable restoratiues to our wounds: but that they as biting corrisiues (sent from the shop and store-house of all deceit and wickednesse) might bite open, and make them greater and more dangerous.

Now if that be true which politicians affirme, that a man may know and discerne the nature and affection of the Prince, by the condition and manners of his friends, and of those which he useth for counsel and seruice; Then let us consider and see of what qualitie and condition the King of Spaine is, by those governors and rulers which haue been sent from him into the Netherlands. For when *Phillip* had layd the fast foundation and ground-work of his cruel and tyrannical government, hee concluded to returne againe into Spaine, to the end that the Netherlanders might indure and suffer all kind of misery at the hands of such as were their fellow-seruants; And that the King as being himselfe absent, might pretend and hold himselfe as ignorant thereof.

And first *Margaret* the Princesse of *Parma*, had the government of these lands. She was a craftie queane, and exceeding desirous to further the Spanish tyranny, who by her manifold and continual complaints and accusations, aggrauated the kings hatred more and more: The king had joyned in commission with her the Cardinal *Gran-uelle* (a man farre exceeding and surpassing her in perversnesse, deceit, contention, in understanding and courage) to be her coadiutor and companion in this passage of Spanish tyranny.

These two were the Princes and Architectures of so many commotions. All the ciuil warres were hatcht, effected and begun by these two. And like as *Helena* was unto the *Troianes*, even so were these two to our Reipublick, the occasion of warre, the occasion of plagues and spoyle.

For that which before was very hard for *Philip* to effect by vehement force and violence, that effected these two, by deceit, by trap-

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pings and underminings. For when they at the first did perceiue that they could not effect their intent, but under a shadow and colour of religion to doe all things contrary to our lawes and priuileges. Then they erected new Bishops by a new trick which was unusual in the Netherlands. And these were set as spies in the great and principal cities, both in all general and particular affaires. They espied and reuealed what every man intended and practised. Those that were but suspected of neglecting the Romish religion, they presently haled and cast them into prisons or dungeons, and thence to most cruel punishments; and finally, brought them to death, confiscating their lands and goods to the Exchequer. And this was the chiefe occasion, that the greatest part of all those that imployed all their endeuours and diligence to stand for the common good, and seemed to preferre, as also to place and exalt the publick libertie and just lawes before the vile and contemptible enterprises of the Spaniards; these men were made away.

This was that holy intent of *Philip* and his Spaniards; This was that holy Inquisition, which so called and nominated their most vile deeds, and cruel robberies, which never before had been heard of, nor used in the Netherlands, which directly as water doth contend and striue with the condition and nature of fire, did that oppugne our lawes: because that no man by such meanes might be inforced thereunto, neither by violence nor death; yet by these bloudy judgments of the Spanish tyranny, even the principal and chiefe defenders of our natiue countrey (by false accusations) even with their wiues and children, were brought to publick punishments of fire and sword.

The like used *Tarquinius Superbus* that tyrant (whereof wee spake before) most vehemently to doe in such like affaires, whose customs, manners, and deeds, *Philip* not onely seemeth carefully to aime at; but even by imitation to doe the like. For that Roman tyrant, to the end he might make himselfe feared and respected of all men, took onely notice of the matters of life & death, without any counsel. And under that pretext, he killed, burnt and executed the bodies, and confiscated all the goods of those whom he either hated, or had in any suspition; or else from whom he expected any good booty. And this very same did *Philip* seek to doe, and all the other

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his counſellors of miſchiefe in the Netherlands; becauſe they perſwaded themſelues that there was nothing more availeable nor fitter to cover their wicked deſignes, and to diſcover our intendments and actions (as well in the general as particular affaires) as was this new care of maintaining and manumiſing of their religion, which they ſeemed to entertain with exceeding great care and diligence.

For there is nothing worſe nor more dangerous, there is nothing which uſually bringeth unto men more inconveniences and domages, then that which is pretended and effected under the ſhew and pretext of ſome great commoditie and profit. But before I wil proceed to demonſtrate how exceeding farre the inſtitutions and the lawes of the Inquiſition, oppoſed our lawes; How exceedingly they weakned our privileges, and the good eſtate and welfare of our countrey; I wil freely confeſſe that the Emperour before that time, being moved by the counſel of many, would haue brought that moſt cruel Spaniſh Inquiſition into the Netherlands, and would haue inſtituted certaine new rigorous lawes concerning the matter of religion: but when he perceived that thoſe things could not be accompliſhed without the greateſt alteration of our Reipublick and government; And that hee underſtood that all the currant of our lawes were againſt the ſame, and made flat oppoſition: then that good father and preſerver of our countrey, deſiſted from his intended purpoſe; and by the good and wholeſome advice of the States (who had oftentimes demonſtrated unto him wherefore thoſe things could not be eſtabliſhed without the great domage and ſubverſion of our lawes and privileges) he left the ſame undone.

So that every one may clearly ſee and perceiue, that the diligence that this good Prince uſed therein, and that great care he took therfore, that the ſame ſhould farre rather be for our preſervation, and furthering to the common good, then to the hurt of the ſame.

But the Emperour being dead, *Philip* againe erected and eſtabliſhed that firſt intention and counſel of the Inquiſition, as a faſt foundation and ſure fortification of his deceits, and treacherous trappings, which ſo long before had been caſt off and rejected by the Emperour. So that it ſeemed, that he by a violent and ſtrong attempt, would quite ſubvert the ſtate of our Reipnblick, with his moſt peſtilent lawes. For he having deſpiſed the advice, counſels,

reaſons and the petitions of our States and of our lawes, he willed and commanded that it ſhould be ſo. That new Biſhops ſhould be inſtituted and ordained over the great cities. Theſe having diminiſhed the revenues of many Abbots, as alſo the Lawes and priviledges of the principal of the Clergie, but more eſpecially having weakned and depoſed the Biſhop of Camerick, and the Biſhop of Leige, they lived more ſumptuoſly and gorgeouſly then they. He ordained that there ſhould be nine Canons adjoyned unto them, that ſhould be of the ſame ſtuffe, and of the ſame condition and nature as the others were. Out of theſe nine eſpecially ſhould there be three ſought out, of the moſt ſevere and cruelleſt of them all; who daily with great earneſtneſſe ſhould look into the affaires of the Inquiſition. And that which was farre worſe, and more intolerable for our libertie, theſe Biſhops ſhould not onely be members in the Aſſembly of the States, but even there ſhould haue the moſt voyces.

By this meanes theſe confuſers and diſturbers of the Netherlandiſh peace and tranquilitie, did eaſily oppoſe the beſt and profitableſt lawes and counſels of the States, and did weaken and debilitate the ſame even as it pleaſed King *Philip*. They were able and ready to informe the Spaniards (who were enemies to our countrey) all what the States intended. For the meaning and intention of *Philip* when he ordained them, and admitted them into the Aſſembly of the States; was, that they ſhould not conſent to their wholeſome and good counſels; neither if that they could adviſe or counſel any thing of themſelues to the welfare of the common good; that they ſhould doe it; But that he by them, might confuſe, deſtroy, and breake the vnitie of our States, and their uniformitie of voyces in counſelling; And to bring ſuch a kind of counſelling in treyne, which might be moſt ſerviceable for his tyranny.

Hence you may ſufficiently underſtand, *O moſt peaceful and illuſtrious Princes*, the reaſons that the States had, and were inforced to deny and deteſt that new intent and meaning of *Philip*, and how the ſame oppoſed our lawes. Yea and were it for no other, but for this onely cauſe, yet it muſt needs diſtate and utterly diſlike them; That ſtrange Spaniards and Italians might be choſen for ſuch Biſhops.

We ſaw and heard daily in our Aſſemblies and counſel of State

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the filth and dregges of theſe ſtrange fellowes, who were exceeding farre eſtranged from the nature of the Netherlanders: whereas our lawes had concluded and commanded (as we haue ſayd before) that at no time ever in the Netherlands it ſhould happen, that it was lawful for the Prince to admit any ſtranger into the Aſſembly of the lands affaires or counſels. By this ſubtiltie and deceit *Philip* ſought to bring in other lawes, which might annihilate our lawes, and ſet up his in their place. and to haue a new councel in the aſſembly of the States: for he could not make uſe of the counſell of the States for the furthering of his tyranny. Moreover I doe not intend to paſſe by the incredible crueltie and ſeveritie of this new inſtitution of theſe three inquiſitors, or under-queſtors, which daily they practiſed.

We ſaw daily theſe three helliſh Iudges keep cruel courts of Iuſtice by themſelues, which was differing from the courts of the Cities, and of the Provinces. They deſpiſing the common authoritie of the Magiſtrates, proſecuted after a new manner of law againſt the offenders, as they termed them; and therein did accuſe and condemne, without admitting any, yea the leaſt meanes for them to anſwer for themſelues, without ſuffering any appeale or challenge to the higher powers, but uſed their owne authoritie and their owne advice, and ſo proceeded as it pleaſed their owne liking and fantaſie, and uſed (to pleaſe their owne appetite) ſuch un-heard-of and unaccuſtomed puniſhments, upon the bodies and liues of ſuch perſons, whereof they did but dreame that they had violated or vilified the Romiſh religion: or elſe they themſelues by their moſt villanous deceits, and trecherous trickes, had induced and ſet on others to doe ſomething, by which meanes they might be ſuſpected to haue beeu altered in their religion. For they had a cuſtome to ſet out daily certaine ſtationers with bookes and writings which did oppoſe the Romiſh Religion, and ſent theſe fellowes to the Nobles and chiefe of the Prouinces, to the end, that if they did but buy any of the ſame, that then preſently, as being offenders, for hereſie, and of a falſe religion, they might accuſe them and condemne them. Like as it is reported of that cruel and blood-thirſty beaſt *Hyæna*, who for to entice the people, or ſuch as kept the cattle, to come out of the woods or ſheltring places to them, made great mourning and la-